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ABSTRACT

Socioeconomic life is the theme of this third of four volumes on the history of compulsory education among the nations of Europe and the western hemisphere. Of the document's 18 articles, 15 are written in English and 3 are written in French. Most selections offer summaries; one of the three articles written in French provides a resume in English. Bibliographies accompany many articles. Titles and authors are as follows: "Mentalites et Experiences Sociales: Les Conditions Socio-Historiques de la Scolarisation Obligatoire en Europe" (Wolfgang Schmale); "Compulsory Schooling and Ethnic Acculturation in Alberta: A Case Study--1890s-1920s" (Nick Kach and Kasper Mazurek); "Attitudes to the Elementary Schools System among Copenhagen Working-Class Parents (1870-c.1900). Description of a Research Project" (Ning de Coninck-Smith); "The Introducation and Enforcement of Compulsory School Attendance in 19th Century Prussia" (Hans-Jurgen Apel); "Compulsory Education for German Immigrant Children in the United States of America during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Rural Wisconsin" (Juliane Jacobi-Dittrich); "Le Recensement des Conscrits, le Reglement du Travail dans l'Industrie du Tabac et la Scolarite Obligatoire dans la Ville Hanseatique de Breme de 1841 a 1844" (Wiltrud Ulrich Drechsel and Franck Neumann); "A Social-Historical Approach Toward Mass Education in the Early 19th Century" (Klaus Wiese); "The Diminished Role of Formal Education in National Socialist Germany" (Geoffrey J. Giles); "Policy in Practice: Families and the Introduction of Compulsory Schooling in Essex Textile Districts" (Grace Belfiore); "Notes for a Pattern of Analysis of Compulsory Education in Latin

America during the Nineteenth Century" (Gabriela Ossenbach-Sauter); "The Compulsory Education and the Mexican Revolution (1910-1924)" (Renate Marsiske); "Historical Context of Compulsory Education in Poland" (Jan Hellwig); "Social and Economic Aspects of Introducing Compulsory Education in the Czech Lands" (Dagmar Capkova); "The Political, Social and Economic Situation of Poland and Compulsory Education (to 1918)" (Lech Mokrzecki); "L'Obligation Scolaire au Portugal pendant la Premiere Moitie du XXe Siecle" (Aurea Adao); "Compulsory Schooling and Social Revolution in Spain 1936-1937: Considerations Concerning the Libertarian Position" (Pere Sola); "Compulsory Education and Child Labor in Spain in the Early 20th Century (Madrid, 1900-1920)" (Alejandro Tiana Ferrer); and "The Compulsory Curriculum in Industrial America: Connections Between Past and Present" (Thomas A. Mulkeen). (CJH)

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SOCIAL-ECONOMIC LIFE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION

CONFERENCE PAPERS
FOR THE 8TH SESSION OF THE
INTERNATIONAL STANDING CONFERENCE FOR
THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

PARMA 3-6 SEPTEMBER 1986

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PARMA 1986

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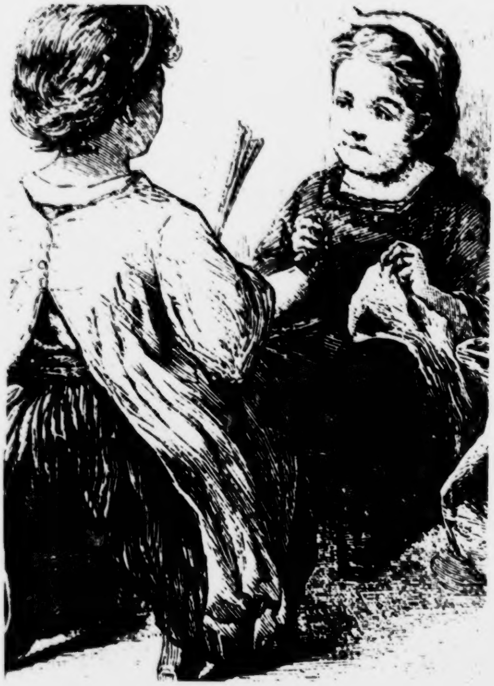
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION



MENTALITES ET EXPERIENCES SOCIALES: LES CONDITIONS SOCIO-HISTORIQUES DE LA SCOLARISATION OBLIGATOIRE EN EUROPE (XVI^e^-XVII^e^)

Wolfgang Schmale

SUMMARY

The notion of "compulsory education" refers, in its proper sense, to the fact that the childrens' obligation to go to school today is normally based on a public law. In most countries, the state has taken the financial and "ideological" responsability for public education. The origins of this fact, at least in Europe, go back to the debate about public education in the crucial phase of the enlightenment-movement in the second half of the 18th century and to the introduction of compulsory education by public laws in the 19th century (with several exceptions before and after 1800). Nevertheless, the *idea* of compulsory education was not "invented" by enlightened philosophers or statesmen. The debate was opened by the renaissance-movement, and last not least, "compulsory education" was a fact of social experience and mentality. Even poor peasant communities obliged themselves to pay a teacher who teached their cildren the three r's: since the 16th century, to read, to write and to count became a social necessity (see the problems of growing social differentiation, judicial acculturation, reform and counter-reform a.s.o.). Not a public law, but the problems of daily life and their resolution contributed to develop a certain social sensibility for the 'usefulness' of elementary and other types of schools. The idea of compulsory education is, first, a question of social mentality and experience. It was inavoidable, second, that the rising modern state and its identification with the nation "usurped" the *idea* of compulsory education...

On sait bien que, au fur et à mesure que le 19^e^ siècle avançait, dans la plupart des pays européens, la scolarisation obligatoire a été introduite par la voie législative. C'était l'Etat, semble-t-il, qui avait pris l'initiative et qui s'était lancé dans l'aventure de l'alphabétisation et de l'éducation de la population. Etait-ce un autre visage de "l'absolutisme éclairé" comme on le pratiquait au 19^e^ siècle, souvent sous le voile d'une constitution qui se voulait républicaine ou qui au moins limitait les pouvoirs du monarque?

Si j'ai bien interprété le titre de ce congrès, c'est l'introduction de l'école obligatoire par une loi d'Etat à quoi fait allusion la notion de "compulsory education". La mainmise de l'Etat sur l'éducation populaire au 19^e^ siècle, et quelques fois avant¹⁾, pourrait nous inciter à croire à une divergence d'intérêts entre l'Etat et la société. Ces lois avaient la valeur d'une obligation imposée à la société par l'Etat. L'Etat moderne et l'analphabétisme - et à cette époque, il s'agissait bien du problème d'alphabétisme ou d'analphabétisme -, c'étaient deux phénomènes incompatibles. Mais en fait, qu'en était-il? L'histoire de l'éducation scolaire obligatoire est longue, très longue, et elle se situe dans un contexte d'histoire sociale dont j'espère pouvoir repérer ici quelques points originaux. Disons-le tout de suite: les lois de scolarisation obligatoire ne sont autre chose que le résultat d'une obligation que la société s'était imposée d'elle-même longtemps avant le 19^{e} siècle - à commencer par le 16^{e} siècle, au moins.

Prenons d'abord un exemple pratique, celui de la commune rurale de Perrigny-sur-l'Ognon, en France, Bourgogne. Dans la deuxième moitié du 18^{e} siècle, les registres de délibération des assemblées communales font état d'un recteur d'école. A cette époque-là, cela n'a plus rien de particulier, et il n'en faudrait pas parler s'il n'y avait pas eu cette fatale incendie du premier mai 1763 qui avait ravagé plus de 60 maisons dont la maison communale qui abritait l'école et son recteur. C'était d'autant plus grave que ce malheur s'ajoutait à d'autres, en particulier une misère générale qui avait déjà obligé "une grande partie des habitans ... de quitter le pays pour mendier dans les autres."²⁾ Dans ces conditions-là, il aurait été très compréhensible si la communauté avait renoncé à s'offrir le luxe - "luxe" seulement par rapport à la situation de la communauté après l'incendie - d'un recteur d'école qu'il fallait payer et qui causait quelques frais supplémentaires aux parents des élèves. Mais qu'à cela ne tienne, au contraire, la communauté s'acharna à garder son recteur, et ce souci apparaît même au premier plan dans les discussions concernant la reconstruction des maisons brûlées et son financement. Dans l'assemblée communale du 17/4/1764, on retient la formule suivante: "*La maison appartenante à cette communauté et qui*

> *luy servoit tant à tenir ses assemblées qu'à loger son maître d'école a étée comprise dans l'incendie du premier may, depuis ce tems il a falu en louer une à l'usage du maître et de sa classe moyenant soixante livres par an, la necessité seule la fait prendre quoyque non suffisante et qu'elle soit trop eloignée de l'eglise et du centre du vilage à l'extremité duquel elle est scituée ce qui est incomode et penible aux enfans etudians ne pouvant d'aillieurs servir aux assemblées, pour y obvier et éviter une depence annuelle de soixante livres les habitans estiment qu'il est indispensable de reconstruire a neuf la maison incendié, et d'en prendre la depence sur le prix de la vente du quart de réserve d'autant qu'il s'agit yci d'un ediffice publique."*3)

Dans ce texte, le langage et le parti pris sont extrèmement révélateurs et en disent long sur la mentalité des habitants. Etant donnée la situation difficile dans laquelle se trouve la commune de Perrigny, il est surprenant qu'elle ait loué une maison pour le maître d'école et ses élèves. Cette décision est d'autant plus surprenante qu'on connaît bien les difficultés permanentes d'ordre financier qu'on connues les communautés rurales et urbaines sous l'Ancien Régime, et la commune de Perrigny n'en fait pas exception. Comme il n'existait pas de loi générale qui eût préscrit aux communes de soutenir des écoles, pour expliquer cette décision surprenante, il faut chercher du côté de la mentalité populaire. Dans le texte cité, on se sert de l'expression "nécessité". Ce terme a ici un double sens: Le bâtiment servant d'école étant détruit, il est bien nécessaire de louer une maison tenant lieu d'école et de logement pour le maître. C'est le sens apparent et presque logique, mais il y a aussi un sens plus profond: si on refuse - même face au malheur de l'incendie - la solution facile, c'est-à-dire de renoncer du moins temporairement à un maître d'école, ce qui aurait épargné à la commune la dépense de beaucoup d'argent, c'est bien parce qu'on ressent une nécessité sociale qui ne laisse d'autre choix. C'est une obligation dont le motif n'est autre que la volonté des habitants de Perrigny. Quand on met ensembles l'école et la mairie ("mairie", c'est ici un leger anachronisme terminologique) dans le même "ediffice publique", il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une décision pratique et parcimonieuse, mais c'est aussi parce que l'école tient de l'intérêt public et social. L'intérêt public, c'est d'abord celui de la société dans son expression particulière, c'est-à-dire locale (commune de Perrigny). Après, on retrouve dans cet exemple les traits de l'histoire générale de l'éducation. L'histoire de l'école n'est pas toute l'histoire de l'éducation, mais il faut bien limiter le sujet; cela dit, il y a lieu de souligner que l'histoire de l'école constitue un aspect très important de l'histoire de l'éducation en général, et qu'elle peut d'ailleurs assez bien servir à élucider celle-là.

Rappelons-nous d'abord quelques données élémentaires concernant la vie quotidienne des sociétés européennes sous l'Ancien Régime. En moyenne, la vie des hommes est très courte, le taux de mortalité des enfants est particulièrement élevé, la vie, en général, laisse peu de choix: pénurité et faim, maladies contagieuses et mauvaise hygiène, guerres et mort prématurée sont des obstacles auxquels on se heurte sans cesse. La peur est bien présente au milieu des hommes. Les enfants commencent très tôt dans leur vie à travailler, à aider leurs parents-paysans (entre 80 et 90% de la population étaient constitués par les paysans), ils forment une main d'œuvre dont on ne peut pas se passer. Pourquoi leur apprendre à lire, écrire et faire les quatre opérations s'il faut tellement se battre pour vivre, survivre?

A ce sombre tableau, dont le peintre semble s'appeler "réalité" s'oppose - la réalité. Si on laisse de côté, pour des raisons extérieures seulement, le moyen âge, le 16^{e} siècle déjà se présente avec une multitude d'écoles en milieu urbain et rural. C'est encore et toujours la vie - la vie sociale, économique et religieuse - qui donne l'explication. Revenons encore une fois aux habitants de Perrigny qui, en 1770, prétendent s'obliger un nouveau recteur d'école. Les échevins leur remontrent " *qu'ils ont besoin d'un recteur d'école tant pour aider M. le Curé aux fonctions du service divin, que pour l'instruction de leurs enfants; à quoi il se seroit presenté le sieur Antoine Thierion munis de certificat de vie et mœurs, vûs et examiné par Monsieur le Curé, lesdits echevins et habitans ... après un examen suffisant de sa personne et de ses talents; lesdits sieurs curé, echevins et habitans s'en sont trouvés comptant et l'ont choisis pour remplir la place de recteur d'ecole audit lieu de Perrigny à quoi ledit Thierion a consenti promettant ce dernier d'assister Monsieur le Curé à toutes les fonctions de l'église ainsi que pour l'accompagner lorsqu'il administrera les sacrements aux malades; et d'enseigner exactement leur jeunesse à lire, écrire, l'arithmétique, le plain chant et le cathechisme, se conformant pour les heurs de sa classe selon l'usage, l'heure de laquelle classe s'annoncera l'aprèsmidy par le son de la petite cloche ... Il sera tenû de plus de servir de secretaire à laditte communauté pour ses actes d'assemblée, de faire la distribution de leurs bois, de publier pour les affaires de la communauté à l'issuë de la Messe ce qui sera nécessaire d'être publié ...*"4)

Si le recteur d'école est apparemment un personnage à fonctions multiples, c'est moins par souci d'économie que parce que celui-ci sait - logiquement - lire et écrire, compter etc. C'est pourquoi on lui fait confiance et lui transmet quelque responsabilité dans des actes d'une très grande portée pour la vie communale. Savoir lire, écrire et compter, cela devient, dès la fin du moyen âge, de plus en plus important pour toute personne qui a un peu de considération pour elle-même et qui ne se restraint pas à supporter la vie en victime seulement, mais qui, au contraire, prend son destin en main elle-même. De plus en plus, l'écrit prend le dessus sur l'oral: tout acte juridique sera désormais écrit; le marché conclu oralement continue à être pratiqué, mais quand il s'agit de la vente d'une maison, d'une terre, d'une constitution de rente ou d'un contrat de travail, pour des raisons de sûreté juridique, face à une société de différentiation et de complexité croissantes, l'écrit se suggère de lui-même comme forme extérieure de tels actes. L'écrit, c'est rassurant. En principe, cela regarde toutes les couches sociales.

La séquence "lire, écrire, compter" ne relève pas du hasard: Il fallait d'abord savoir lire parce que le nombre croissant des actes écrits le rendait nécessaire. Bien sûr, on pouvait se faire lire un texte par quelqu'un qui savait..., mais c'était bien impratique, et d'ailleurs - cela concerne plutôt le 17e siècle - il y avait ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui la littérature populaire qui donnait le goût de la lecture - en commun évidemment. Si la vie montrait assez nettement la nécessité et les avantages du savoir lire, s'y ajoutait le fait qu'il était plus facile d'apprendre à lire qu'à écrire. Ecrire, cela signiffiait d'abord signer de son nom. Le nombre des gens qui pratiquaient couramment l'écriture reste petit. Néantmoins, celui qui s'aprêtait à embrasser une carrière sociale, aurait été très mal averti s'il avait cru pouvoir se passer du savoir écrire. Enfin, c'était p.e. la monnaie et son rôle croissant dans la vie économique qui finit par convaincre les gens qu'il serait bien utile de savoir compter... De là à engager un recteur d'école et d'y envoyer les enfants pour les préparer aux contraintes de la vie, il n'y avait qu'un pas.

Certes, le côté "vie pratique" n'a pas été la seule force d'impulsion. L'église et ses besoins d'éducation religieuse étaient, au début, au moins d'une égale importance. Le processus d'implantation d'écoles s'est vu fortement intensifié par le mouvement de réforme des Luther, Calvin etc. d'un côté, et, un peu plus tard, de la contre-réforme catholique de l'autre. La concurrence des églises, c'était aussi une course à la conquérence des âmes dès l'enfance. Le texte ci-dessus cité s'y refère, en soulignant le rôle et l'avis du curé dans le choix du recteur d'école et en énumérant le chant et le catéchisme comme matières d'éducation scolaire. Mais dans la plupart des cas, l'école est financée par les habitants, et non pas par l'église. Dès le début (16e siècle), il y a un consensus plus ou moins sous-entendu entre les deux. Société et religion sont indivisibles, et comme la religion, la foi en Dieu, sert aussi à maîtriser la vie quotidienne, c'est bien la société - on dirait presque: la société seule - qui se fait une obligation de l'éducation scolaire. C'est d'autant plus vrai qu'existaient dans les villes, surtout, des écoles spécialisées dans la formation professionnelle. A leur origine se trouve l'idée de la charité chrétienne à laquelle on savait donner un sens très pratique. Les pauvres, et notamment les enfants mendiants et orphelins étaient à la charge de la société chrétienne. Souvent, on ne se contentait pas seulement de les nourrir, mais on essayait aussi de leur procurer une certaine formation professionnelle pour faciliter leur intégration dans la société et pour éviter qu'ils ne deviennent des marginaux sans retour.

Tout cela se développait et se pratiquait sans que l'Etat s'en soit beaucoup soucié. Au besoin, on s'inquiétait d'une " demande d'éducation"5) jugée trop forte qui semblait risquer de soustraire les gens à l'agriculture et au commerce, les 'vraies richesses' de l'Etat. Ce n'est qu'au 18e siècle que ce dernier s'intéresse de plus près à toute sorte d'éducation scolaire. Les temps avaient changé. L'Etat n'était plus cet inconnu qui existait bel et bien, mais qui n'était pas encore emancipé par rapport à la société. Il n'en était plus de même après l'expérience absolutiste des états européens. Il y a un décalage de temps entre les différents pays, mais somme toute, le tournant dans l'histoire de l'éducation scolaire se situe dans le cours du 18e siècle.

Le magistrat français Rolland d'Erceville, dans la foulée de la chasse aux Jésuites dans les années soixante du 18e siècle, laquelle d'ailleurs n'était pas le privilège des Français mais d'une portée européenne, et qui entraîna dans plusieurs pays des réformes du système d'enseignement secondaire, ce magistrat écrivit qu'il faudrait "(imprimer) *à l'éducation publique le caractère précieux, ... d'EDUCATION NATIONALE, maxime qu'un savant magistrat (de Saussin)* *appelle avec raison un principe d'ordre public, et une maxime d'Etat que l'on n'aurait jamais dû perdre de vue."*6) Ici, on voit très clairement que la perspective a changé. Ce sera désormais l'intérêt national associé à la notion d'Etat qui orientera toute réflexion sur le problème de l'éducation. Cette idée s'inscrit dans le courant des idées politiques du siècle des Lumières. Si toute éducation publique, c'est-à-dire en dehors du sein de la famille, doit être une "éducation nationale" laquelle relève de la catégorie 'maxime d'état', il est absolument logique que l'Etat ait pris un jour l'initiative et ait rendu l'éducation scolaire obligatoire.7)

Cela dit, sur le plan européen, il faut quand même se rendre compte de quelques différences nationales. Si, en France, l'idée de l'éducation scolaire obligatoire prend naissance plutôt dans le sein de la société, et seulement en dernier ressort dans le sein des élites culturelles, c'est que dans les états de l'absolutisme éclairé (Prusse, Autriche p.e.) l'initiative en revient plutôt à l'Etat, ce qui n'exclut en aucun cas la participation plus ou moins ouverte et active de la société. Il faut surtout éviter de comprendre les deux notions d'Etat et de société comme expression de deux catégories antagonistes. Dans le contexte européen, la question est seulement de savoir vers quel côté la balance se penche le plus.

J'admets facilement que toutes ces remarques sont très sommaires. Mais il a fallu se limiter. J'espère quand même avoir pu montrer qu'il existe une cohérence socio-historique très dense entre cette éducation obligatoire qui émane de la volonté de la société d'avant 1800 (environ) et celle qui sera 'imposée' par la voie législative (pour la plupart après 1800 ou peu avant). Ces lois, par conséquent, n'indiquent pas une autre qualité, mais seulement une autre forme par laquelle la société moderne se charge d'obligations, un autre mode de pourvoir au besoin d'éducation qui s'adapte au changement du cadre qui entoure la société. Ce cadre, c'est l'Etat, et c'est lui, parce que la société a su intérioriser et maîtriser ce nouvel horizon qui s'est formé au cours d'une dizaine de siècles ...

Notes

1) Voyez en Allemagne le cas de la "Mark Brandenburg" (Prusse) pour laquelle existe une telle loi, datant de 1717, ou bien le cas de Braunschweig, où on introduisit par décret l'éducation scolaire obligatoire en 1651. Il ne faut pas surestimer de tels exemples parce que les conditions de réalisation sont très differentes de celles de la fin du 18e siècle. Dans ce domaine-là, la loi autrichienne de 1774 est beaucoup plus à prendre au sérieux.
2) Archives départementales Côte d'Or (Dijon), Ed. 482/2 BB11, Délibération du 19/2/1764.
3) loc. cit., BB 11, fol. 7^{v} - 9^{v}.
4) loc. cit., BB 13, fol. 6^{r} - 7^{v}.
5) Expression de Furet/Ozouf (voir Bibliographie), t. 1, p. 78.
6) Cité dans J. Morange (voir Bibl.), p. 24.
7) Avec quelques restrictions ou modifications, ce *constat* est valable pour toute l'Europe. Je peux renvoyer ici le lecteur aux actes de la 6e session de la "International Standing Conference for the History of Education", Wolfenbüttel 1984.

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COMPULSORY SCHOOLING AND ETHNIC ACCULTURATION IN ALBERTA: A CASE STUDY-1890s-1920s

Nick Kach
Kasper Mazurek

Introduction

From the beginning, education in Canada was characterized by the cultural conflicts generated by two antagonistic peoples who colonized this land. The 17th-century Jesuit civilization of the founders of New France, the short-lived 18th-century attempt by the British conquerors to Anglicize *les Canadiens*, the xenophobic parish schools of Francophone Quebec and the imperialistic "national" schools of Anglo Canada in the 19th century, and the confrontation over bilingual and immersion schooling in 20th-century Canada is the legacy of modern Canadian education.

To the conflict of Canada's "founding races" one must add the threats posed by successive waves of immigrants. From the Irish immigration after the Great Famine in the 19th century to the influxes of Slavs starting at the birth of the 20th century, to today's Third-World immigrants, the Canadianization of the "newcomer" has been a challenging task for provincial governments. One agency of assimilation has been the school. Among other objectives, free, compulsory public schooling was established to facilitate the assimilation of immigrant ethnic groups. The degree to which this objective was realized will be the focus of this paper.

Limitations

A national macroexamination of this issue in this paper is not possible. Canada is a vast land which was settled only in stages; in fact, the process is still not completed. For example, while a modern, centralized public school system with teachers' colleges, approved curricula, school inspectors, and so forth was being established in what is now Ontario in the middle of the 19th century, there was but one Catholic mission school accommodating about two dozen children in what is now Alberta in 1862.

Further complicating matters is the highly decentralized nature of the Canadian educational systems. Each of Canada's ten provinces has virtually complete autonomy over its own educational systems. Therefore, the writers will limit their discussion to how the establishment of one particular free, compulsory, non-sectarian public educational system attempted to facilitate the assimilation of one significant ethnic group from the time of their arrival in one of the western provinces in Canada until the early 1920s. The province is Alberta; the ethnic group is the third largest in Alberta: the Ukrainians.

Historical Background Before the Ukrainian Settlement

From 1671 until 1870 the Hudson's Bay Trading Company had virtually unlimited control over the Northwest Territories, that vast expanse of land west and north of present-day Ontario to the British Columbia boundary. Since the Company's principal motive was profit in fur trading, little was done to encourage the establishment of educational institutions. Particularly before 1840, Company officials were content to let private agencies—church mission schools—attempt to meet the educational needs of the sparsely settled territories.

From 1840 onward, the Hudson's Bay Company promoted missionary work. This promotion encouraged missionaries from the Wesleyan Methodist, Roman Catholic, and Anglican churches to come to the Territories to teach the resident Indian, Métis, and white children. Initially itinerant educators, the missionaries eventually established relatively permanent mission posts.

But despite the efforts and sacrifices of the religious educational pioneers, results by modern standards were not impressive. For example, by 1873 there were only six formal public educational centers in present-day Alberta. This was largely a consequence of social and economic conditions.

> Population growth was either small or . . . unpredictable. Consequently, the financial base of education was either small or uncertain or both. And the potential value of schooling was doubtful where the mastery of Nature's secrets, rather than the appointments of civilization, was the great prerequisite. (Lupul, 1970, p. 243)

But even where schools were established, they were kept open with great difficulty. During the winter months they were frequently closed. And without compulsory school laws attendance was irregular, one of the most frequent complaints in the early school reports.

Such was the state of education in the Territories prior to the passage of the 1875 Northwest Territories Act. With the passage of this Act, a working basis for a school system was established. However, the Act stipulated that an electoral district had to contain 1000 inhabitants, not including aliens and unenfranchised Indians, to one thousand miles; and at that time there was no region that could meet this requirement. Consequently, expansion of educational institutions did not follow the passage of the 1875 Act.

Nine years later, the Council of the Northwest Territories took advantage of the enabling legislation and passed an ordinance setting up a school *system*. The Ordinance (1884) provided for the establishment of school districts and the election of school boards to administer these units. Curriculum, inspection of schools, and certification of teachers were responsibilities of a Board of Education. This Board was comprised of two sections, one Protestant and one Roman Catholic. Each section in this dual system was responsible for the control and management of the schools in their respective sections.

Four years later the Territorial government inserted a section on compulsory education into the school Ordinance. All children between the ages of seven and twelve were required to attend school for at least twelve weeks a year. If any child failed to meet this requirement, his/her parents were subject to a fine.

In 1892 another Ordinance was enacted. This abolished the dual system of education, thereby ensuring that all publicly supported schools were to be controlled by the government. Of special interest to this paper is the fact that five sections of the Ordinance were devoted to the issue of compulsory education. The sections that dealt with compulsory education were included in the Haultain Act of 1901, the Act which regulated education in the province of Alberta from 1905 to 1913. This inclusion reflected the authorities' perception of the importance of compulsory education.

Children, the authorities believed, had to go to school because the school could develop a sense of nationalism in the young inhabitants of the Territories and, later, Alberta. This was considered imperative to Canada's political unity; for the possibility that the northwest area might fall by default to the United States remained imminent because a National Policy for Canada was not drafted until 1878. This Policy, drawn up by Sir John A. MacDonald, "called for . . . immigration and western settlement, transcontinental railways, and a protective tariff" (McDonald, 1971, p. 62).

The transcontinental railway was completed in 1885; the protective tariff was set shortly after MacDonald regained power in 1878. But the problem of immigration and settlement of the west remained until Sifton implemented his ambitious immigration policy in 1896. But this only exacerbated the perceived need for promoting patriotic and nationalistic sentiments in the West, and particularly Alberta. For it was in this province that thousands of "strange," in fact "undesirable" immigrants settled in a bloc colony. These immigrants were the Ukrainians.

The Ukrainian Migration to Canada

Though the arrival of Ukrainians can be followed through three distinct phases, only the first two are relevant to the thesis of this paper. The first phase started in the '90s under the aegis of the declining Conservative government. An aggressive immigration policy was not introduced, however, until the Liberals came to power with Clifford Sifton as the energetic Minister of the Interior. "[His] effort was rewarded by an immediate increase in the number of proportion of Ukrainians or Galicians as they were then called, which continued without interruption up to the years of the war" (Young, 1921, p. 41). According to statistics issued by the Department of Immigration, one hundred and seventy thousand (170,000) "Galicians," "Bukovinians," "Ruthenians" arrived in Canada between the years 1896 and 1914. Approximately twenty thousand (20,000) of these settled in Alberta, mainly in the area east and north of the capital, Edmonton.

The influx was abruptly halted by the war, and immigration levels only began to rise again in the early 1920s. This second phase, which peaked in 1929, was halted by the Depression. At this time Ukrainians constituted 2.2% of the population of Canada and about 7.3% of Alberta's population.

But while personally implementing policies to facilitate the importation of thousands of central and eastern Europeans, Sifton believed that the British immigrant was the most desirable, with Scandinavians, Americans and Germans following in terms of respectability. But with restrictive laws prohibiting the emigration of these "desirables," he had little choice but to turn to Austria and Hungary to fulfill his mission of settling "the empty west with producing farmers" (Dafoe, 1931, pp. 140-141).

Reactions to Ukrainian Settlement

Despite its utilitarian bases, the energetic program was immediately censored. Spearheading the French-Canadian attack was Henri Bourassa who charged that "the grossly inadequate medical examination of immigrants . . . was made by inexperienced doctors for political reasons. Thus immigrants swung the population balance against the French in two ways: their presence in the non-French bloc and by inflicting the French with their diseases" (Peterson, 1964, pp. 41-42). Anglophone reaction was equally damning. As early as 1897 the editor of the *Calgary Herald* expressed alarm about the Galician "invasion." "Canada," he said, "was never intended to be made a dumping ground for the useless surplus population of Eastern Europe" (*Calgary Herald*, July 15, 1897, p. 6).

Such stereotyping did not subside after the initial arrival of the highly visible Ukrainian immigrant "with his strange speech, unusual peasant garb, unfamiliar customs, and concentration in ethnically exclusive bloc settlements" (Kaye & Swyripa, 1982, p. 44). For many the continuing influx of settlers to the West stimulated the perpetuation of bigotry and stigmatization. H.B., for example, a contributor to the *Vegreville Observer*, regularly and relentlessly slandered the "Ruthenians." The tenor of his articles is evident in the following comments.

> It is quite possible that English speaking generations yet unborn will come to look upon the descendants of Galician emigrants as their equals and friends; at the present time we do not so consider them. In view of their education, ideas, moral standards and way of life, we justly regard them as inferior.
> (*Vegreville Observer*, July 29, 1908)

These sentiments indicate that while the "Galician" immigration to western Canada was sanctioned by the CPR, eastern capitalists and the government, "it infuriated, disgusted, and appalled and plagued just about everybody else" (Kostash, 1977, p. 34). Hence the image of the dirty, frowsy, Galician, the Ruthenian, mass of human ignorance, filth and immorality was conjured.

This "image" was also accepted by some members of parliament. Perhaps the most prominent among this ignominious group was Frank Oliver, the member representing the constituency (Strathcona) that was settled by a considerable number of Ukrainian immigrants. Oliver's speeches in parliament reveal his contempt for the *inferior* Galician (Ukrainian).

> By putting in the North-West . . . [Galicians] who are not progressive, whose ambition is not civilization, you are handicapping the settlers who are there.
>
> Now transplant in the North-West . . . [Galicians] and you put them as a collar around the neck of your civilized and progressive settlers.
>
> [The Galicians] are not desirable neighbors. (*Debates of the House of Commons*, July 26, 1899)

Whether such sentiments were ubiquitous is questionable; but writers like H. Palmer portrayed such prejudice as being widely accepted.

> The settlement of destitute "Galicians" was opposed by all Alberta newspapers and by various church and citizens' groups. Native Canadians worried that their illiteracy and poverty would drag down the cultural level of the whole area and undermine "Anglo-Saxon" institutions. By native standards, these peasants from south-east Europe were educationally deficient, socially backward, and strange in appeara;nce. But worse was the added problem of the "Galician" settling in compact communities, since it was feared this would prevent assimilation. (Palmer, 1972, p. 73)

Assimilation: The Territorial Era

Few individuals were as concerned about assimilating this "depraved" group as was D.J. Goggin, Superintendent of Education in the Northwest Territories. To illustrate, in his second report he claimed that,

> One of the most pressing . . . problems arises from the settlement among us of so many nationalities in the block or "colony" system.
>
> It would be criminal to shut our eyes to the fact that this rapid increase of a foreign and relatively ignorant population is at once a challenge and an invitation to our institutions.
>
> To assimilate these races, to secure the cooperation of these alien forces, are problems demanding for their solution, patience, tact and tolerant but firm legislation.

Such legislation was in effect: (1) school districts had to be established wherever there were the required number of school-age children; and (2) parents and guardians "having charge of any child between the ages of seven and twelve . . . shall be required to send such child or children to school" (*The School Ordinance*, 1901, p. 233).

But the establishment of school districts and compulsory education, Goggin realized, would not in themselves realize the objectives he had in mind. Goggin recognized that an important instrument in the hands of those who wished to build a Canadian nation was the school curriculum. The program of studies for the Territorial schools in the elementary (and secondary) standards are most revealing. Subjects considered best suited for the task of developing national pride and patriotism, integral qualities of the assimilated individual, were History, English literature, geography. History, one of the primary subjects, was conscripted to aid in the inculcation of the ideals of nationalism. Political, social, and educational leaders believed that knowledge about how their nation began and developed was imperative to creating within students love and loyalty to the nation.

The main advantage of the courses in history, according to Goggin, was that they stimulated the child's interest in the past, developed his power to depict incidents, helped him to form ethical judgments, and developed his nationalistic sentiments. He also felt there should be a close correlation between history and geography.

The study of history was aimed, among other things, at making the students conscious of the noble qualities of their heritage. The responsibility that was theirs to preserve and enrich this heritage was also stressed. Geography was a subject that not only cultivated the students' knowledge and appreciation of their own country, province, region, or even town, but also enabled them to relate their small part of the country to larger entities such as the nation and empire. J.M.D. Micklejohn provided Goggin with a rationale for teaching the geography of the British Empire. In an article in the *Canada Educational Monthly* Micklejohn wrote:

> The question may be asked: Why teach Geography of the British Empire separately? There are several replies and a multitude of good reasons. It is our empire; it has been won by the labour, the courage, the self-sacrifice, the blood of our countrymen; and we ought to encourage in our children the consciousness that they were born into it, belong to it, and form a part of it.
>
> (Micklejohn, 1892, p. 96)

The approach taken to geography in the Territories was similar to that advocated by Micklejohn. "It was designed to give the student a greater knowledge of the North West, Canada, and the Empire and their relationships" (McDonald, 1971, p. 211) In this respect history and geography were to complement each other.

Assimilation: The Provincial Arena

With the passage of the Autonomy Act of 1905 Alberta, formerly part of the Territories, became a province. The organizational and administrative changes entailed in the formation of a new province, however, did not change the established philosophy of education. To illustrate, the new provincial government (just like the Territorial authorities) believed that education was the "agency" that could effectively promote assimilation. Consequently, this government took upon itself the responsibility for this work, and plans for carrying it out were made and put into operation. The strategy used to facilitate assimilation is apparent in a 1906 report of the deputy minister:

> One of the most satisfactory . . . features of the past year is the progress made and interest maintained in the organization and maintenance of schools among the foreign elements, especially the Ruthenian colony east and north-east of Edmonton. Mr. Robert Fletcher [Superintendent of Foreign Schools] with headquarters at Wostok devotes his whole time to the work, giving every possible assistance to non-English settlers in the establishment of school districts, the erection of schools, [and] the employment of teachers.
>
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1906, pp. 12-13)

From an excerpt of Fletcher's 1911 report we get an idea of the success which attended his work. "The organization of school districts in the large Ruthenian colony north and east of Edmonton has been practically completed during the year. There are a few scattered settlements . . . yet needing to be organized" (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1911, p. 78). Fletcher's success was typical of similar accomplishments throughout the province.

But the establishment of school districts in the Ruthenian settlements did not in itself facilitate assimilation. Since existing compulsory attendance laws were relatively lax and truancy violations often ignored, the school's "power" as an agent of assimilation was markedly undermined. To correct this situation the Truancy Act and the Compulsory Attendance Act were amended in 1913. Two significant amendments are summarized below.

> 1. No board of trustees shall have authority to close their school for any cause not provided for without the approval of the Minister and . . . the department must be advised . . . of the closing of any rural or village school for any cause other than statutory holidays.
> 2. The Truancy Act . . . was very materially strengthened.
>
> [In the rural districts] the organization for this purpose consists of the truancy officer, the school inspector, who are provincial truancy officers, and the school teacher.
>
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1911, p. 16)

And to consolidate the school's position as an agent of assimilation, compulsory education to the age of fifteen was made mandatory in 1918.

Ukrainian Reaction

Given the opprobium of stereotyping and a policy of assimilation that was fortified by the compulsory school acts and truancy acts, what was it like to be a Ukrainian immigrant, and what were the consequences of this experience? For the immigrant and, to a lesser extent, the first-generation Ukrainian-Canadian, the effects of stigmatization and pressure for assimilation were generally minimal. En bloc settlement in a time when contact beyond the confines of the immediate community was limited enabled efficient transmission of traditional cultural patterns by the family and supportive local institutions. These provided the Ukrainians with defensive mechanisms that ameliorated possible pernicious consequences of rejection by the dominant cultural group and effectively negated assimilation.

Principal among these "mechanisms" was the concept of *sobernost*, "an association in love, freedom, and truth of believers which [A.] Khomiakov considered the essence of orthodoxy" (Riasanovsky, 1963, p. 402). Block settlement ensured that this concept remained a dynamic, unifying, and comforting force among the Ukrainians in eastern and northeastern Alberta at least into the 1920s. In turn, this encouraged the retention of centuries-old xenophobia, characteristic of the Ukrainian peasant. So if members of the Anglo-American cultural group saw the Ukrainian as "ignorant, filthy, and immoral," the immigrant, and many first-generation Ukrainian-Canadians, shared the view that all non-Ukrainians were "deplorable, lousy Jews," the epitome of obloquy.

Reinforcing the in-group/out-group dichotomy were the churches, particularly those of the Orthodox denomination. In every sermon the verity of their religion was reaffirmed—Orthodox parishioners (those who adhere to the true faith). This was the church that represented the principle of integration in love and stood against the world of rationalism and authority as manifested in the Roman Catholic Church (which had seceded from Orthodox Christendom) and through the Catholic Church in Protestantism. So, to the immigrant first-generation Ukrainian, "looking out" from his insulated environment, Catholics and Protestants were apostates. What, then, did it mean when those who had fallen from the path of righteousness called him a "Bohunk"?

Helping the Ukrainians avoid serious psychological consequences of stereotyping and enabling them to effectively resist assimilation, was the world view in which they were socialized, a view that was predominantly shaped by the impact of serfdom. Enduring the oppressions that marked the passing centuries—devastating foreign invasions, fratricidal princely wars, recurring famines—the peasants accepted patient suffering, a phenomenon they always understood. Because the peasants believed in the "suffering that atones," they passively accepted oppression and grief. And since this view was part of the Ukrainians' racial consciousness and their socializing experiences, the immigrant and the first-generation Ukrainian-Canadian clung to the idea that to follow in Christ's footsteps, to attain eternal salvation, one must endure the *podvig*, the suffering that atones.

> The *podvig* is in battle,
> The *podvig* is in struggle,
> The highest *podvig* is in patience,
> Love and prayer.

In such an environment the Ukrainians quickly learned that all "marks of disgrace" were but other crosses they were born to bear.

But although the immigrant and first-generation Ukrainian-Canadians successfully resisted assimilation, at the same time they gave impetus to those forces that brought about the very changes they opposed. Robert England explains this phenomenon rather eloquently.

> These people who have come to Canada have thus made a great break with the past. They have placed their feet on the first rung of the ladder of progress. As already pointed out, there would appear to be the beginning of the work of Canadianization by their deliberate choice of Canada as their country. (England, 1929, p. 176)

Having emigrated, the Ukrainian peasants had to observe the "laws of the land": they had to send their children to school. As could be expected, these immigrants had an ambivalent attitude toward education. On the one hand, it was perceived as irrelevant and probably even a waste of time more profitably spent on the land. Those of such inclination rarely sent their children to school, especially the females, despite compulsory attendance laws. Mary Tkachuk's experience, related below, is not atypical.

> When I was five years old a school was built in our district; Borowich School District #2052 was established in 1909.[1] Initially, the school was only open during the summer months. But regardless of how many months the school was in operation, my attendance was very sporadic. In part, I was kept home because I had to look after my five younger siblings while my mother and father were brushing and breaking the land. And there was no encouragement to go to school; after all, my destiny was to get married and be a diligent wife and mother. Formal education was not essential to fulfilling this role. But though my attendance was very low, my father was not asked to abide by the compulsory attendance regulations. Because the teacher used to get milk, eggs, and other produce from my father, he always made sure that I would be sent to school when the inspector was in the area.
>
> Nor did my parents encourage me to improve my scanty knowledge of the English language. On the contrary, my father did not allow any of us to speak English in our home. If we did, he would firmly assert, "I do not want Jews in my house."
>
> (Interview, Mary Tkachuk, February 16, 1986)

On the other hand, there were a considerable number of immigrants who saw education as a vehicle for social mobility. Bill Ewoniak, originally from the Shandro district,[2] illustrates this point. His brief comments on this issue are recorded almost verbatim.

> My father came to Canada in 1900. As was the case with the overwhelming majority of Ukrainian immigrants, he experienced many physical and economic hardships before and after he settled in the Shandro district. Undoubtedly, this is the reason he made certain that I attended school. Often detecting my aversion for formal instruction he would say, "Go to school and study diligently. Obtain an education; do not be like me [sic]." In addition, he encouraged us to speak English at home. But despite this support, I had no interest in school work and quite school after I completed grade seven. (Interview, Bill Ewoniak, Vilna, February 16, 1986)

The immigrants who encouraged their children to go to school "felt that the Ukrainians had been tillers of soil too long . . . [and believed that their] children, as many as possible were bred for destinies more rewarding than picking rocks, shovelling grain" (Kostash, 1977, pp. 67-70). This belief was well founded. Considering that the majority of the Ukrainian immigrants that came to Canada, particularly before World War I, were agricultural workers or blue-collar workers, it was promising to see that by 1921 one percent of the personnel in professional occupations in Canada were of Ukrainian origin. A rough but favorable extrapolation could be made for the Alberta situation. Undoubtedly, this mobility could be correlated with educational achievement.

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[1] Borowich school district is located approximately 75 miles east-northeast of Edmonton.

[2] Shandro district, a fertile farming community, is located about 70 miles east-northeast of Edmonton.

But regardless of their socioeconomic mobility and despite concerted efforts to assimilate the immigrants, especially the children of the immigrants, in the mid-1920s, the majority of Ukrainians in the bloc colony east and northeast of Edmonton retained their language, their religion, their music, their art forms and, to some extent, their "fatalistic" world view. Compulsory education and, more importantly, compulsory courses designed to produce good citizens and develop a sense of nationalism, accomplished more than a modicum of success. Equally important, though, is the fact that after three decades, the educational system, "armed" with compulsory attendance laws, truancy regualtions, and a doctrinaire curriculum, failed to assimilate the Ukrainians. At most, the Territorial and then the provincial system was successful in acculturating this ethnic minority.

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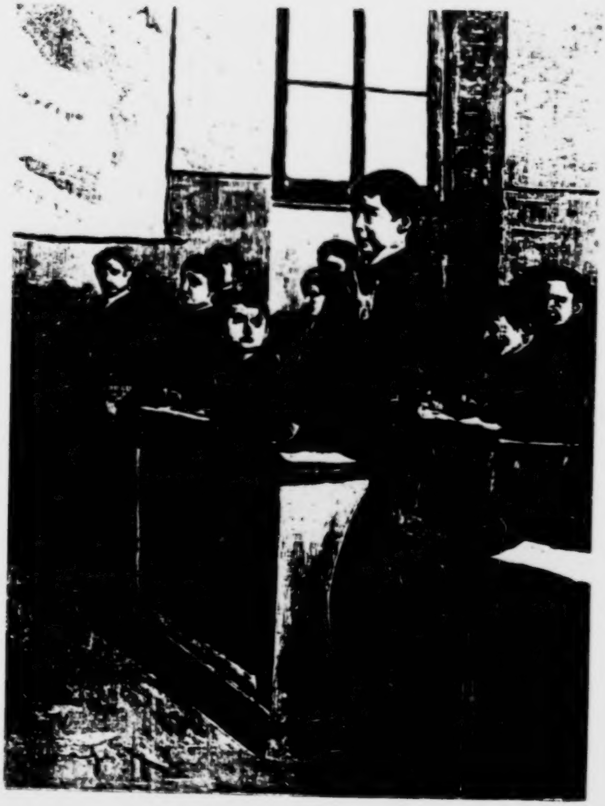
Summary

From the mid-1890s until about the mid-1920s, excluding the World War I period, thousands of peasants from the Ukrainian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina migrated to the Canadian west. A sizeable number of these new arrivals settled in the rural region east and north-east of Edmonton, the capital of Alberta. Though the Ukrainian people were not the immigrants Canada preferred—for example, the British, Scandinavians, Germans, or the French—few denied their suitability for developing a virgin land in a harsh climate. As the Minister of the Interior maintained, "I think that a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil . . . with a stout wife and a half dozen children, is good quality [for the northwest]." But despite this acknowledged virtue, the Ukrainian peasant, with his strange speech, unusual clothing, and unfamiliar customs, aroused much hostility and suspicion.

Sharing the concern about the presence of so many "foreigners" were educators such as D.G. Goggin. Along with other educationalists, politicians, ministers, and people from various walks of life, Goggin believed it essential that the schools get an early hold of the children of these settlers so that the school could train the children, and perhaps the settlers, to live according to our social system and institutions. More pointedly, the school was expected to ***assimilate*** the Ukrainians.

In the attempt to ensure the process of assimilation, compulsory attendance laws and truancy regulations were enacted. Equally important was the development of a curriculum that was designed to foster Canadianization. However, despite the schools' concerted efforts, by the mid-1920s the Ukrainians in Alberta had successfully retained the important aspects of their culture. At most, the educational system was only successful in acculturating "the people in sheepskin coats."



Garrone si alzò di scatto, e disse: — Son io! (pag. 11).

ATTITUDES TO THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS SYSTEM AMONG COPENHAGEN WORKING-CLASS PARENTS (1870-c. 1900). DESCRIPTION OF A RESEARCH PROJECT

Ning de Coninck-Smith

Preliminary theoretical and methodological reflections

My research project deals with schoolchildren in Copenhagen at the end of the 19th century - with their lives in and outside the institutions. It is a project whose aim is to go beyond investigations of the intentions behind the elementary educational system to the way school legislation was implemented in practice; to how the school was experienced and formed by its "users", i.e. teachers, parents and pupils.

A first condition of realizing this aim is a critical survey of the political/legal/ideological decision-making process at both state and municipal levels. Here it is important to investigate the conflicts and varying interests expressed by schools policy. The next condition is a study of the way the intentions of the legislation worked in practice in the context of constant political and cultural clashes in the schools between the dominant ideologies/cultures expressed by teachers and school authorities and the reactions of children and parents. These clashes were more or less open: e.g. in the form of vandalism, physical violence directed at the teachers, or non-attendance by the children.

Until now there has been no great interest among Danish educational historians in the political and cultural clashes in the Copenhagen schools system in the 19th century. All too often, parents and pupils have been regarded as passive elements in the forming of the elementary schools system.

After a short introduction to the Copenhagen schools system in the 19th century, I will present the first results of a study of parents' dealings with the Copenhagen educational authorities between 1870 and 1900, along with some more methodological considerations that have emerged in the course of this work.

The Copenhagen schools system in the 19th century

In 1814, after 25 years of work on commissions, general compulsory elementary education was introduced in Denmark for children from the age of 7 until the year of their confirmation (13 - 14). Every parish in the country was instructed to provide the necessary number of schools and teachers. The school subjects were religious instruction, Danish (reading and writing), and arithmetic. For the greater part of the 19th century religious instruction was considered to be the most important subject in schools. Besides these, there was physical training, if the teacher was capable of giving classes in it and the school had a gravelled playground with the necessary climbing apparatus.

In Copenhagen the private school system reigned supreme until the middle of the 1840s. The reform of 1844 reorganized public education: the city was divided up into school districts; public-authority schools were divided into *friskoler* ("free schools", where schooling was free of charge) and *betalings-*

skoler ("fee schools", where the parents paid a nominal fee for the schooling). In both types of school there was half-day attendance, either in the morning or the afternoon, and boys and girls were taught separately. Evening schools were established for children who worked whole days, but these were gradually phased out in the course of the 1850s. After this, the school authorities considered that half-day schooling allowed sufficiently for parents' dispositions as regards their children's labour power.

At the same time the school authorities tightened their control of the many small private schools, the intention being that they should at least be of the same standard as the council schools. In spite of this, many small illegal schools survived, often "managed" by an elderly single woman with a small flock of pupils. The small illegal private schools lived on - on an ever-decreasing scale - right up to the middle of the 1880s.

In 1876 there was a new reform of the Copenhagen schools system. The number of hours was increased slightly; class quotas were reduced and new subjects were introduced. From now on both free and fee schools were to teach geography, history, natural history and elementary physics. Conditions in the free and fee schools gradually approached one another; but the final phasing out of this classification of schools did not take place until 1915. It was also decided in 1876 that the monitorial teaching system - the Bell-Lancaster teaching method imported from England in about the 1820s, where pupils taught one another - was to disappear completely from council schools and be replaced by teacher-centred "object-lesson" instruction.

The changes that had been introduced in the Copenhagen schools system since 1876 were extended by national legislation in 1899. But it was not until the 1950s, with the centralization of the Danish schools system, that the old two-class village schools, with a teacher, co-education for boys and girls, and school attendance every other day, disappeared.

It will have emerged that the Copenhagen schools system at the end of the 19th century was extraordinarily progressive in comparison with the rest of the country. Developments in Copenhagen were driven forward by an enormous increase in the number of children of school age due to large-scale migration from the countryside to Copenhagen, as well as the determination of the Copenhagen City Council policy-makers to devote plenty of funding to the schools system. Expenditure on the poor, hospitals and the police stood relatively still, while expenditure on schools rose from an average 13% of the Council budget in the 1881-85 period to 19% in the 1896-1900 period. The schools sector was throughout the whole period the biggest expenditure item after poor relief in the municipal budget.

All this good taxpayers' money was first and foremost used to build 25 new schools - built according to the latest European principles of school hygiene - and to expand the teaching staff. Among conservative politicians at the City Hall (the Social Democrats did not gain a majority before 1915) there was an almost unshakeable confidence that elementary schooling could turn the children into industrious, self-sufficient citizens, and prevent the type of chaotic and rebellious developments that had been observed in other European cities.

At the end of the 1870s the council schools system began to catch up with the private schools. At about the turn of the century all working-class children and children from a large section of the petty bourgeoisie were going to council schools; most of these to "free schools". Private schools were now only an option for the children of the well-to-do. Throughout the whole period higher education was exclusively privately-run.

Methodological reflections on historical analyses of everyday life and practice in schools

The question that has to be clarified when one embarks on a study like this is: where can we actually obtain our data on historical realities in the schools system? The sources for the political, legal and ideological history of the schools are many, and have been diligently investigated by Danish educational historians. There are innumerable analyses of the education acts and the educational policies of particular political parties. Yet it is characteristic that the closer one gets to the reality of the schools, the fewer the number of analyses becomes. A few have worked on pedagogical issues and the content of school subjects; a few others with rural attitudes to the schools. To my knowledge, no one has as yet attempted to form a picture of life in the urban schools where the authorities, teachers, parents and pupils are seen as acting subjects who contribute in various ways to the formation of the daily life of the schools. Why is this? The answer is not immediately obvious.

In the first place it can be pointed out that such a project has probably hitherto been precluded by the dominant position of the positivist view of history, which has led to a fixation on political history and quantitative historiography. Social history and its derivatives, the histories of childhood and youth, along with the latest developments in Marxist historical theory, must be said to have paved the way for the feasibility of looking at school history from a new and different class- and conflict-orientated angle. Secondly, there is the issue of the nature of the sources. Parents and children rarely appear directly in the political, legal and ideological sources for 19th century school history. What we do find is a wealth of information about the attitudes of those in power and school authorities to parents and their children.

In order to find other sources for the everyday life of the school, one must ask the question: in what situations is it conceivable that parents and pupils have reacted? Not just in the form of written utterances, but physically too, for example in attendance at school, vandalism etc. It then emerges that several situations provoked parent and pupil reactions: first, cases where parents were fined for illegal absences of their children from school; secondly, situations where the children had been subjected to corporal punishment in the school, or victimization by teachers and schoolmates; and thirdly, changes in the school legislation where parents' disposition over their children was restricted, for example through extensions of the time spent in school, the introduction of detention punishments etc.

I have registered all cases falling within the three categories mentioned above in the archives of the Copenhagen school authorites for 1870 - 1900. The number of cases is about 300 - relatively few in view of the fact that the number of school-age children in Copenhagen schools in the same period grew from 27,500 to about 48,000. If material was included from Copenhagen parish records the number of cases would probably increase somewhat. There is much to suggest that many parents went to their local priest before approaching the school.

Despite the "scantiness" of the material, it must be said that it gives us a unique impression of the attitudes and reactions of parents and pupils to the reality of Copenhagen schools at the end of the 19th century. It enables us to confront the official view of children and parents with the perception of life, child-rearing and the school found among part of the Copenhagen working class at that period.

As mentioned above, the study is still far from completed, and in the following I will mention the results I have obtained so far through working on a small section of the parent-school communications.

It should first be emphasised that the great majority of communications came from parents from very poor social backgrounds: unmarried mothers with several small children, widowers, or parents where one spouse was ill and confined to the home. These parents hardly had much time or energy for a truly "critical attitude" to the school: it was more economic necessity that drove them to approach the school authorities. The aim of their approaches was to be excused from paying fines imposed because of their children's illegal absences from school. A few exceptions existed among the very poor parents, who along with more articulate and well-to-do parents approached the authorities with criticism: either of the strict physical discipline or of the school's interference with the parents' authority over their children.

In general it must be said that parent communications - perhaps for tactical reasons - expressed respect for the schools, but at the same time wished more consideration for parents' rights to use the children at home, the need for their earnings - and in general for the need of the parents to be listened to. Many socially underprivileged parents did not write their own letters - these are different from the ones written by parents themselves. They are far more humble and resigned in their tone, where the ones written by parents themselves are often direct and straightforward. We know from the statements of the authorities in other cases that it was not unheard-of for a mother to turn up in the classroom and berate the teacher in the presence of the pupils.

We also find a lot of information on the way political and cultural clashes found expression in the schools. In my opinion, it is at this qualitative level one gets the most out of the material in question. It is a source of information about the parents' self-image, self-respect and world-view, and about their attitudes to children, child-rearing and the school. An analysis at this level demands, however, a great deal of imagination and empathy on the part of the historian. I believe also that much "help" can be obtained from other disciplines: literary studies, psychology, educational studies and ethnology.

In general the parents urged a humanization of the school and greater consideration for "poor people". There is much to suggest that the pattern of reactions was determined to a certain extent by the social backgrounds of the parents. Those who were worst off - who perhaps did not think they were capable of putting a letter together, or could not see the point of doing so - appeared in the classroom and abused the teachers. The mothers in particular seem to have been very active in this respect. But the condition for exemption from a school fine was a written application to the school authorities, and many parents - including those from the socially disadvantaged groups - had to compose a letter or get someone else to do it for them. (The distribution of these letters also tells us something about literacy in Copenhagen). More well-off parents, with children in the fee schools, complained in formally perfect Danish to the priest or school authorities, threatening perhaps to sue. In this group we almost always find cases concerning physical violence against pupils. The communications also reflect the living conditions for children in the Copenhagen of the time and its schools. Victimization by other children was not unknown then, and for many older boys the alternative to going to school was wandering about on building sites and public commons. At any rate, the absences mostly fell in the spring and autumn.

Perhaps for tactical reasons there were very few cases where the parents admitted that the children were absent because of child labour. They were almost completely certain of a refusal on these grounds, as the school authorities, as mentioned before, thought that half-day attendance catered for their needs in this respect. It is evident, however, from many of the letters that the childrens' help was indispensable in the home in cases of illness - and the authorities often accepted this.

Authorities and teachers' attitudes to parents and children

Above, we described the Copenhagen schools system as progressive, (p.) but this was only meant in the quantitative sense. The content of the teaching and the view of parents and children was patently conservative. From the many cases we get an impression of how this conservative view of people influenced dealings with the Copenhagen working class and its children. If the parents complained, the teachers were capable of taking it out on the children, and there is no evidence that the schools took the parents' complaints seriously. They were brushed aside with claims that the parent in question had always been "obstreperous", that the mother had "behaved unsuitably" when she appeared to abuse the teacher, etc.

The assertion that parents were indifferent to their children and their schooling was one of the basic ideological axioms behind the constant increase in the influence of the schools - especially in moral and hygienic matters - on the bringing up of working-class children during the period.

The cases also give us an idea of the working conditions the teaching staff of the day were subjected to. Much of the violence done on the pupils probably arose from the fact that the teachers simply could not manage the situation. The class and culture gap between their own backgrounds and those of the pupils was far too great. The women teachers usually came from the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie; male teachers were often the sons of farmers who saw teacher training as a step up socially. The fear of "proletarisation" was a constant concern for both male and female teachers.

These claims can be documented by a study from the 1880s of the sickness rate among Copenhagen teachers: the rate was particlarly high among women teachers, and the death rate among young female teachers was extremely high.

Perspectives

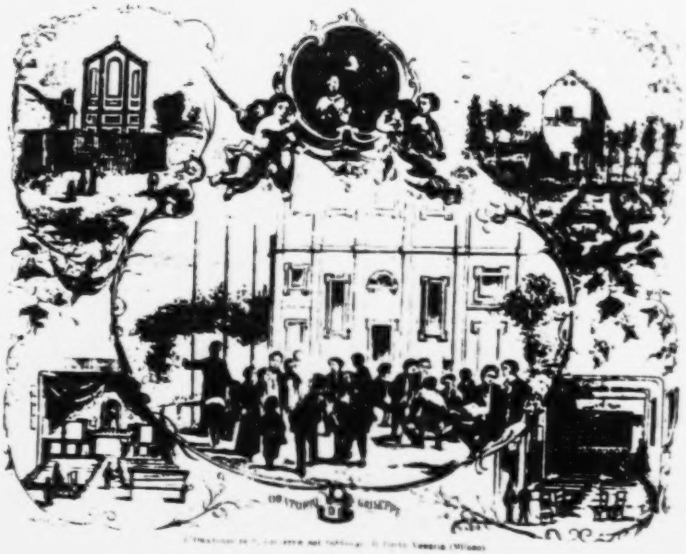
On the basis of the studies I have done so far I think it is reasonable to work with the following hypotheses:

- First, that it was not only social distress that made parents of children in the publicly-maintained Copenhagen schools have a particular attitude to the schools. Many of the parents were genuinely critical of the practices in the schools - especially the infliction of corporal punishment, the ever more extensive attendance demands, and the obligations and pressures this created for the family.

- That the "reaction pattern" of parents was determined to a certain extent by their own social position: i.e. that violence against teachers was most widespread among the most socially disadvantaged, while the threat of legal action was only made by parents from ther better-off sector of the Copenhagen working class. Possibly, there is also a gender aspect involved in the explanation of the reactions. It seems that it was more often women than men who appeared at the schools. This may be connected with the fact that the women were at home during the day, or that they worked in the neighbourhood of the school.

- That the claims of the school authorities as regards the indifference of parents to the school cover a multitude of conflicts between parents and schools. However, this claim was an important element in the establishment of the authority of the elementary schools at a time when attendance at school was not taken as a matter of course.

It is my hope that at the conference in Parma, after considering other relevant sources than those mentioned here, I will be able to criticise and discuss in more depth the hypotheses outlined here.



L'Oratorio di S. [illegible] eretto nel sobborgo di Porta Venezia (Milano)

THE INTRODUCTION AND ENFORCEMENT OF COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN 19TH CENTURY PRUSSIA

Hans-Jürgen Apel

1. Preliminary Remarks

Reading the stipulations on compulsory school attendance as presently laid down in the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany and in the various Länder-constitutions, one is generally unaware of the obstacles confronting the introduction and enforcement of school attendance in the 18th and 19th centuries. In the case of the Prussian state, which existed up to 1947, rules on school attendance for 5 to 12-year-old children go back as far as the year 1717. The General State Law (Allgemeines Landrecht) of 1794 ordained that "every resident who is unable or unwilling to procure the necessary instruction for his children at home is required to send the same to school from the age of five years upwards." (II, Tit. 12, § 43). This rule was meant to ensure that "minors ... receive an education appropriate to their standing, means and ability to make of them virtuous and useful citizens." (II, Tit. 18, § 311). Until 1920, this meant that of a small number of well-to-do citizens only compulsory education was required, whereas the majority of the population was subject to compulsory school attendance, the obligation to submit to public schooling.

2. Reflections on Method

Three points are addressed in the present paper: (1) official efforts at enforcing compulsory school attendance, (2) the effects of this decision on the state and (3) difficulties relating to the enforcement of compulsory education. The interest of the authorities in enforcing school attendance is first demonstrated by means of an analysis of general decrees valid for the whole of Prussia. For measures designed to influence local conditions, however, it will be necessary to consult the regulations of the regional provincial governments, whose Internal Affairs Departments were responsible for the lower schools, among other things. Detailed instructions issued by these authorities are available especially for the period between about 1825 and 1850. In later years, urban authorities also issued guidelines for teachers at urban elementary schools on how to deal with unexcused absences from school. In some examples from the Prussian Rhine province, which have survived both in printed form and in handwritten official files, basic issues of contemporary educational policy are clearly apparent.

The administration's guidelines were frequently combined with an injunction on the local school commissions, district presidents and burgomasters to report on local conditions and on difficulties specific to them. Thus the files contain descriptions of conditions at rural and urban schools which are drawn on in the present paper up to the 1860's. The analysis of these documents and sources makes it possible to describe the processes accompanying the crucial phase in the establishment of compulsory education between about 1830 and 1870.

This interpretive analysis requires complementation by a large-scale study compiling data on the development of school attendance, the school system, educational finances and teacher training. These data in turn would require complementary inquiries into private school education and preparatory school attendance. A further indispensable accompaniment would be a careful scrutiny of past research on the topic. On a first gross impression, it would appear that the question of compulsory school attendance / compulsory education has been dealt with for the most part in lexicon entries, sometimes from the perspective of educational law. In more modern studies on the history of public education, the subject is occasionally addressed, but only rarely is it recognized and treated as a key element in the history of school.

3. Official efforts at enforcing compulsory school attendance in Prussia (after 1825)

In the literature, it is repeatedly asserted that compulsory school attendance and compulsory education were introduced in Prussia by the royal decree of 14th May, 1825. This decree stipulates: "1. Parents or their legal representatives who are unable to prove that they have provided for the necessary instruction of their children in their homes, shall be obliged, if necessary by means of force or of punishment, to send every child which has completed its fifth year of life to school. 2. Regular attendance at lessons in school must be continued until such time as the child's pastor is satisfied that it has acquired the knowledge necessary for any sensible person of its station." With this regulation, the requirements set down in the General State Law of 1794 were reaffirmed and extended to the western provinces which had been under Prussian rule only since 1815.

Years previously, the regional Rhenish governments in Aachen and Cologne had issued ordinances to enforce regular school attendance. The decree of May 1825 now resulted in the appearance of voluminous rules for the implementation of compulsory schooling, in Aachen in 1826 and in Cologne in 1827. They specified:

- that thenceforth admittances and removals of school-age children were to take place not more than twice a year,
- the age at which compulsory schooling was to commence,
- what conditions had to be fulfilled before compulsory schooling could be ended,
- that the teacher had to make daily checks on the attendance of children liable to compulsory schooling.

In particular, the procedure for enforcing regular school attendance was laid down in detail: in future, teachers were to check the attendance of school-age children every day by calling a roll drawn up twice a year by the police authority. In the case of absences, they were to demand excuses and to remind parents of their duties. The parson had the task as local school inspector of supervising the keeping of the register and insisting on negligent parents sending their children to school regularly. If this did not have the desired effect, they were to be reported to the burgomaster, who was first to admonish them, then to caution them and finally to threaten them with fines or, alternatively, imprisonment.

The fact that such ordinances were issued repeatedly, particularly between 1825 and 1850, indicates that by the 1860's the aim of regular school attendance was still not realized in all regions and localities of the Rhine province. In 1835, the Supreme President of the Rhine province issued instructions laying down the procedure for punishing absenteeism in schools. These instructions set time-limits for summoning and punishing the father as well as specifying the various legal instances involved in passing sentence and also mentioning possibilities of appeal and the degree of punishment (the amount of the fine or length of the prison sentence). These instructions are a good example of an official attempt at enforcing school attendance on members of lower occupational groups. In 1845, they were reissued in modified form by the Minister of Educational Affairs in Prussia. This suggests that the official measures taken up to this point of time hat met with little success. School absenteeism was particularly prevalent in rural areas and in certain towns.

Extant documents on the enforcement of school attendance dating from the time of the German Empire (1871 - 1918) afford evidence that by this time the aim had to a large extent been realized. The rules for dealing with absences from school are now mainly concerned with questions of leave, excuses in the case of illness, the keeping of the attendance register by the teachers and the supervision of the procedure as a whole.

4. Effects of this educational policy decision on the state

The introduction of compulsory education meant that a number of weighty obligations devolved on the state, obligations which are already in evidence in the early ordinances. Thus there was immediate awareness of the need to provide school buildings with suitable rooms, sanitary installations and at least one teacher's dwelling. It had to be established how high the school fees were to be and how they were to be collected. All school-age children had to be registered regularly. The provision of competent teaching staff - another prerequisite for interesting school lessons - necessitated appropriate vocational training, a clear conception of the activities constituting the profession "teacher" and sufficient remuneration for services. The first task for most teachers was to get used to looking upon their teaching as a full-time occupation. They had to be shown how to use their regular class-teaching to encourage "the children to be diligent, to apply their knowledge, to be disciplined and God-fearing and to perform their duties as children earnestly and lovingly", as a Cologne government decree put it in 1830. Curricula and timetables had to be laid down in advance, the introduction of teaching aids such as reading books and arithmetic books had to be prescribed and enforced. Furthermore, the rules of school discipline had to be codified, particularly the regulations governing the use of corporal punishment. Many teachers even had to be taught how to treat their pupils in a pedagogically appropriate manner.

The government pursued these aims by means of voluminous decrees as well as by brief individual directives addressed to the local school authorities or to the teacher directly. Efforts were made to improve professional qualifications by in-service training courses, and it was hoped that the founding of reading-circles would bring benefits. At the same time, continued education through conferences and the reading-circles contributed to the political education and discipline of the profession.

In several cases the school authorities were faced with the task of enforcing compulsory school attendance in places "where factories exist or where there is a large number of poor families", as the Cologne government expressed it in 1827. A special effort was made to ensure a minimum of school education for children working in factories; for this purpose, special institutions such as factory schools, Sunday schools and evening

schools were made use of. In this case, the state's interest in the reduction of illiteracy and in political education had to contend with resistance on the part of the factory owner as well as on that of parents whose primary concern was how much their children earned.
An analysis of extant reports will now yield an account of the special problems facing the local school commissions.

5. Difficulties relating to the enforcement of compulsory education

The special difficulties besetting the introduction of compulsory school attendance can be seen in many reports submitted to the authorities between 1830 and 1870. In 1841, the Düsseldorf government, commenting on the state of the local school system, noted a lack of trained teaching staff, of teaching and learning aids, of a structured relationship between the various school types and of qualified school supervision. In view of such unsatisfactory conditions, it is scarcely surprising that school attendance is reported to be irregular. However, the high rate of absenteeism in some places is attributed not so much to the deficits of the educational system as to the living conditions of the working classes. This is clearly evidenced in some documents used to support a Düsseldorf government report in the year 1852. We quote: "The chief obstacles are: (1) the early employment of children among the agricultural population to tend cattle and work in the fields, and the employment of children in factories in manufacturing districts. (2) The inability of parents to procure the necessary clothing and footwear for their children, particularly for the cold, wet winter months. (3) The occasionally long distances between home and school, and the bad road conditions in wintertime." This passage can be regarded as a representative summary of the difficulties that existed. Compulsory schooling had to be imposed on the so-called "poorer classes of the population", those who were dependent on the labour of their children for the subsistence of their families. It is true that the poor were exempted from fee-paying in so-called "free schools"; however, the provision of warm clothing and shoes in winter met with considerable obstacles which could only be partially overcome by charitable measures. It was the firm conviction of the organs of state that the enforcement of compulsory school attendance was an important instrument in the struggle against poverty, begging and crime; at first, however, this very poverty proved to be a serious obstacle to its success. As the Chief Burgomaster of Barmen observed in 1857: "The living conditions of the working classes in this parish" were preventing the enforcement of school attendance particularly among the lower classes of the population.

The setting up of so-called factory schools in some places did preserve the outward appearance of fulfilling the minimal attendance requirement; in reality, however, after a ten-hour working day the children's need of rest was greater than their eagerness to learn.

Poverty and adverse domestic conditions were also a handicap to the authorities in their efforts to influence and admonish the parents. Frequently, the penalties for absenteeism could not be exacted because "these people, who generally go out to work, are seldom to be found at home." Occasionally, too, representatives of the authorities who were supposed to punish the negligent parents would express the opinion that if "criminal law was to be practised" there should first be a careful examination of the guilt involved and of any extenuating circumstances present. On no account could the punishment prescribed by the instructions be administered without regard to the social consequences. There is no doubt that to an important extent the authorities were guided in their actions by suchlike socially motivated considerateness. The existing poverty and the struggle for survival certainly called for liberal, well-considered measures in dealing with school absenteeism. Thus it is not surprising that, although the threat of punishment was formidably expressed, in practice persuasion and also control were the means of influence more usually favoured.

On the other hand, there are frequent reports of burgomasters who were not resolute in their support of school attendance enforcement, or who even obstructed it from egoistic motives.

The police authorities had a special role to play in the enforcement of school attendance. It was they who had to compile the list of school-age children and administer punishment. This was not easy, as the parents were not always at home and because they made false statements.

The duration of compulsory school attendance was left for the time being to the discretion of the local school committees or parsons. Various reports on the discharge of adolescents from school around the year 1860 are unanimous in naming three conditions for school-leaving:

(1) Completion of the 14th year of life and proof of minimal knowledge acquirements

(2) earlier discharge, provided that the minimal acquirements are demonstrated

(3) discharge at the age of 13, domestic circumstances permitting.

The duration of compulsory schooling was also extended, however, if school performance was unsatisfactory, if "basic skills and religious knowledge", say, were "poor".

6. Concluding remarks

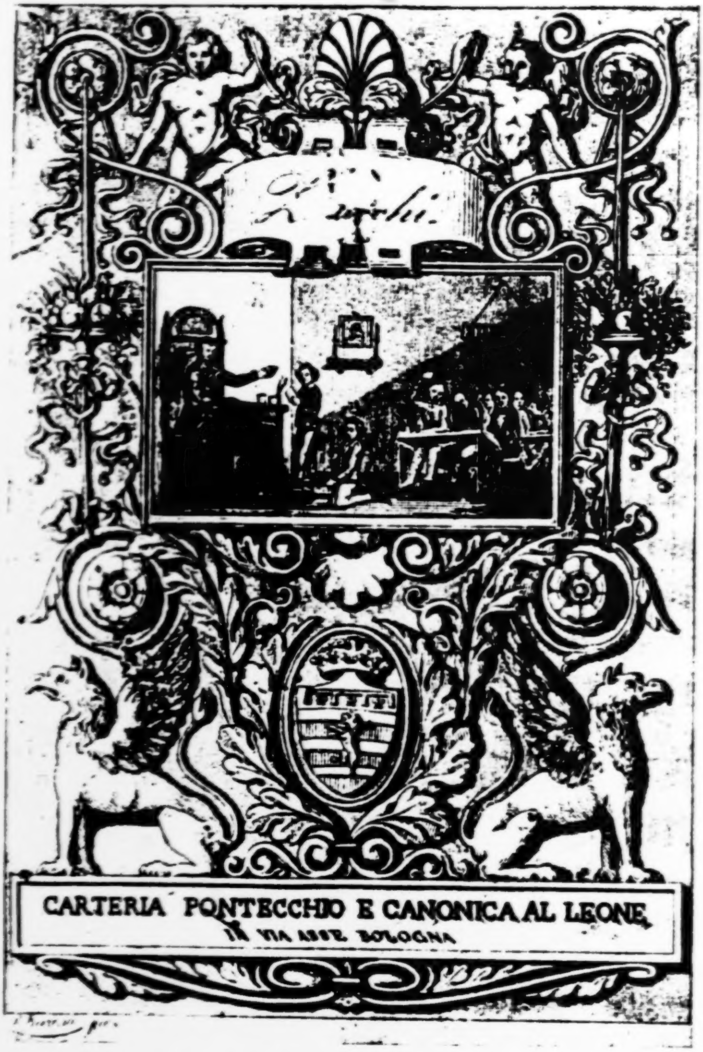
Although the enforcement of compulsory schooling sometimes met with considerable initial resistance on the part of the poor classes of the population, it made steady progress from the 1860's onwards. Research is needed to uncover the exact reasons for this progress. To what extent the process was facilitated by factors other than the system of cautions, checks and charges should be revealed by supplementary field studies; such factors might be the increasing expansion of schools, the growing need for a basic education associated with the economic development, the decrease in child labour, not to mention welfare measures such as the provision of clothing, footwear and also foodstuffs. In any such study, the specific factors distinguishing urban and rural conditions should be borne in mind. By the time of the German Empire, compulsory education can be safely regarded as having been widely established.

Note:

An analysis of sources and literature is not possible in the space of the present brief contribution. The contemporary collections of school regulations (some of them now available as newly annotated reprints) afford exact insights into the legal and administrative regulations. The sources used have been taken from files of the North-Rhine-Westphalian Main State Archives in Düsseldorf.
For more on this topic, see Hans-Jürgen Apel/Michael Klöcker, Schulwirklichkeit in Rheinpreußen. Analyse und neue Dokumente zur Modernisierung des Bildungswesens in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts (School Reality in Rhine Prussia . Analysis and New Documents on the Modernization of the Educational System in the First Half of the 19th Century). Cologne 1986.

SUMMARY

Official ordinances designed to enforce compulsory education for all children were issued in Prussia as long ago as the eighteenth century, but more particularly as from the beginning of the nineteenth. For various reasons, the implementation of these ordinances encountered resistance in urban and rural areas alike. The present contribution suggests possible approaches to the finer analysis of these developments in the context of social conditions.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COMPULSORY EDUCATION FOR GERMAN IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE CASE OF RURAL WISCONSIN

Juliane Jacobi-Dittrich

The intention of this paper is to report on school attendance among German immigrant children in rural Wisconsin. It draws information from a study that has been made with a broader outlook on cultural accommodation through schooling among immigrant families. School attendance was one aspect of this study among a number of others (i.e. language policy, use of language of instruction in schools, school organization and the relationship between the public school system and the private parochial school system, teachers'training and the practices regarding the hiring of teachers1).The dominant concern was not so much 'compulsory education' but rather comparative aspects of school attendance in terms of ethnicity. (Jacobi-Dittrich, 1986) Some introducing remarks on the ethnic group I am dealing with as well as on the official school politics of the State school administration towards immigrating groups should be made before I turn to the results of my research on school attendance.

The social and economic background of the predominant types of German immigrants to rural Wisconsin in the second half of the 19th century can be classified as working and middle class. The immigrants were either small farmers, skilled tradesmen or bussinessmen who left Germany between 1840 and 1890 mainly for economic reason. Among the various immigrating groups the group is characterized as fairly well to do. There was a large group among the immigrating Germans who were able to buy land immediately and start farming, another large group first worked as hired men in order to make the money for the purchase of land. There was plenty of work and there were good wages compared to back home. The lack of any restrictions by law or custom that prescribed where and as what to work was new to the immigrants. People who were skilled tradesmen ended up farming although they had never intended to do so while others who planned to go into farming failed completely and eventually became shopkeepers, inkeepers or manufacturers. Social mobility had not only become a fact of their life but also a prospect of the lives of their children. In respect to their attitude towards compulsory education it can be assumed that they would give a certain consideration to basic schooling for their children.

Furthermore the German immigrants came from countries where the establishment of compulsory education at the time was well on its way. Almost all of them had gone through some basic elementary instruction and they probably took it for granted that their children would attend some years at school in order to acquire a certain standard of education. (Among my sample of two rural communities in Wisconsin almost all adult immigrants could both read and write, in 1860 and in 1880) But, nevertheless, there was a serious obstacle to the establishment of compulsory education that resulted from their non-English-speaking cultural background and that official State school policy had to fight throughout the second half of the century. Coming from countries where state and church were closely entangled and where the establishment of compulsory schooling took place in close cooperation between the two institutions, they were completely unacquainted with the specific American idea of free public schooling as well as with localized school administration. This lack of acquaintanceship combined with the language problem caused a lot of political fighting during the decades I am dealing with. Wisconsin's official school politics and a brief outline of what types of school existed in rural Wisconsin will explain the conditions under which the establishment of compulsory education took place in the immigrant society of 19th century USA.

Official school policy considered "Americanization" of the immigrants as a major issue of the free public school system. Wisconsin's school administration continued to act along this line from 1848 (statehood) to 1890. What did "Americanization" mean in 19th century American school politics and educational ideology? "Americanization" was part of the ideology of the Common School Reform Movement that arose in the 1830s and became a widespread political movement among school administrators throughout the following decades. It meant the education of the non-Protestant, non-English-speaking immigrants (Irish Catholic, German Catholic and German Lutheran) according to the moral standards of an undenominational but heavily puritan American Protestantism. The ideas were developed and theorized by men like Horace Mann or Henry Banard, men who worked for the establishment of a free public school system. They were convinced of the moral superiority of American Protestant middle-class values to all other "sectarian" religious beliefs, in the case of German immigrants especially those of the Catholics and Lutherans among them. Wisconsin's school administrators during the first decades of the state all came from the East, the center of the Common School Movement. It would go beyond the purpose of this paper to discuss the policy of the State's school administration, their relationship to the development of the immigrant society in the course of the century and their consequence for the establishment of the public school system.

Among the various ethnic groups who came into Wisconsin, the Germans established the largest school system outside the public school system. The two dominant denominations, Catholic and Lutheran, established parochial school systems in urban as well as in rural areas. These parochial private schools had the purpose of educating the children of German immigrants in a traditional religious way. Used to the type of religiously organized public school in Germany, they transferred the same type of school to a country where the separation of state and church was an essential included in the constitution. Legally the immigrants argued with their right of religious freedom. It was the purpose of these schools to educate the children in a traditional religious way. That meant that instruction mainly took place in German. On the other hand there were a lot of either mixed ethnic communities or German communities, who had public schools with a strong influence of German culture, expecially by means of German as language of instruction. As for the language problem there was a variety of solutions in parochial private schools as well as in public schools. School legislation from 1848 to 1890 reveals that there were three main issues to be treated: school attendance, Americanization through language requirements, i.e. English had to be the language of instructions in all schools, public or private, and the repression of the private parochial school system. These issues were highly interdependent and throughout the century, state legislation pursued the improvement of Wisconsin's public school system in that sense. Compulsory education was not explicitly an issue until 1878, when state law declared: "Every parent, guardian, or other person in the State of Wisconsin, having charge or control of any child or children between the ages of seven and fifteen years shall be required to send such a child or children to a public or private school, for at least twelve weeks in each school year." (Laws of Wisconsin 1879, Chapter 121) A wide range of exemptions was still possible:

- if child's help was needed for domestic support
- if parents could prove that the child "has already acquired a fair knowledge of the branches of learning ordinarily taught in the common school of this state."
- if the house of the parents was situated more than two miles far from the next school house.

It was only 1882 when the law required serious proof of school attendance through annual written reports to the County Superintendent of Schools what school the children aged 7-15 had attended the preceding year. The fine though was fairly low ($ 5 to $ 20) and there is no evidence of strict enforcement. This lack of enforcement might be explained through school attendance records I have taken of two rural communities, almost exclusively German settled, from census data provided by the Federal Manuscript Census of 1860 and 1880.

State school statistical records on school attendance have no data on the pupil's ethnic origin. They only report on school attendance per average child aged 7-15 per annum. These yearly statistics in the Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction have a lot of weakness (incomplete records) and report only on the public schools. There are no overall statistics for the parochial schools recorded. The state wide statistical report on school attendance in the public school system tells of school attendance of 3.9 months per year per average child in 1849, 5.5 months in 1859, 7.7 months in 1869 and 8.6 months in 1879. Thus it demonstrates regardless of its statistical weakness the tendency towards a fullfillment of the legally required compulsory school attendance of 1878.

Since I was interested in a specific ethnic group in rural areas, I had to find out other means of checking on school attendance. I went back to census data, which provide some information on school attendance. I chose rural communities of different character with a predominance of German settlers and recorded the censuses from 1860 and 1880. The two censuses were chosen for comparative reasons. The 1860 census is taken in the first decade of the existence of the settlement. Most of the settlers came into the area in the early 1850s. The 1880 census makes it possible to compare my outcome with other research. Both communities had various types of schools in their boundaries: public schools, Catholic and Lutheran parochial schools. Sauk City was a rural town of about 1000 inhabitants with a strong influence of German political refugees and with all denominations represented. Cross Plains was a farming area settled in typical midwestern pattern, unincorporated village of about 500 inhabitants witha high degree Catholic immigration as well as with a Lutheran group. - (The main reason I chose the two communities lies in the broad source of material of the two places in terms of school- and parochial records, newspapers and the like, which I used for the above mentioned research on cultural accommodation) - I used the codesheet C. Kaestle and M. Vinovskis used for their study on school enrollment in Massachusetts but did only plain quantifying work with the data since the size of the sample did not allow going a detailed analysis as Kaestle and Vinovskis did. (C. Kaestle, M. Vinovskis, 1978)

Both censuses ask whether every child between 3 and 20 attended school during the previous year or not. The census did not ask how long the child attended school or what kind of school he/she attended. Furthermore the 1860 census asked every person older than 14 what profession she/he had. The 1880 census asked the same question and in addition to it how many months of the previous year the person had been occupied.

In 1860 a very low percentage of enrollment is reported in the farming community of Cross Plains, Dane Co. Only the 8-year-old children went to school 100 %. The group of the 7-year-old children enrolled only up to 29 % and the group aged 9-13 had an enrollment average of about 50 %. In Sauk City the rural commercial town school enrollment in 1860 was much higher. A percentage of about 90 % of all children aged 7-13 went to school. In Cross Plains in 1880 the 7-13 year-old children attended school almost up to 90 %, i.e. school enrollment had greatly improved during the two decades. In Sauk City in 1880 the same age group is recorded to attend school up to 100 %. Cross Plains still did not reach the level of Sauk City. The group of the 5-6 year-olds in all four cases shows a wide range of school enrollment as well as the 14-15 year-old children. (table 1 Appendix) Cross tabulation of school attendance, working and age 15-19 differentiated according to sex tells about school leaving age and regarding the length of school attendance of the individual youth. (table 2-6) While school entrance age does not show any significant difference between boys and girls, (except Cross Plains 1860) school leaving age and transition to work does. (table 2). Girls left school earlier and a larger number of them aged 15-19 in both communities neither went outside the house for wage - labor nor went to school. (table 2-6). Overal school attendance in 1860 of the sample shows that the percentage of children aged 7-13 enrolled in school is slightly lower than the enrollment of the same age group Keastle, Vinovskis figured for Massachusetts (85-90 % in Massachusetts in comparison to 75 % in Cross Plains and to 90% in Sauk City). The comparative numbers for Massachusetts, New York (state) and Michigan in 1880 were achieved by both communities.

The length of time the individual youth spent in school of her/ his lifetime increased significantly from 1860 to 1880 only among the 14 and the 15 year-olds, not among the 16-19 year olds. The general tendency of these statistics shows that the children of German immigrants in rural Wisconsin spent about the same amount of time at school as the children of various ethnic and social groups in the East and that rural Wisconsin ranged in the upper part of school enrollment scores of the United States at the time. Considering this outcome in terms of enforcement of compulsory education it could be said that German immigrant children whose parents came from a country where they received basic elementary instruction in 1880 were fullfilling the state law's requirement for school attendance. In 1880 Wisconsin compulsory education was well enforced to the extent that children aged 7-13 went to school universally although a large number of them did not attend public schools.

Table 1

Schoolattendance during the preceding year children aged 3 - 19

	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	also insg.
SC 1860	2.2	10.5	55.3	83.9	91.2	93.1	87.5	94.4	95.5	88.2	90.9	60.9	64.7	35.0	25.0	13.6	20.0	424
SC 1880	16.7	0.0	15.0	85.7	100.0	100.0	95.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.3	88.2	77.8	29.2	11.8	4.5	0.0	378
CP 1860	0.0	22.2	14.3	60.0	28.6	100.0	66.7	50.0	71.4	25.0	57.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	25.0	0.0	94
CP 1880	4.0	4.2	26.1	46.7	91.7	75.0	95.8	91.7	84.2	95.8	83.3	53.6	73.3	30.0	13.0	15.0	5.9	394

1860 overall	1.7	12.8	48.9	80.6	80.5	93.5	84.2	90.0	89.7	76.2	77 8	58.3	50.0	28.0	21.7	15.4	16.7	518
1880 overall	10.2	2.1	20.0	65.5	95.3	88.9	95.7	96.2	92.3	98.0	90.2	66.7	77.8	29.6	12.5	1.5	3.0	772

SC = Sauk City CP = Cross Plains

Table 2

Working youth according to age-groupe

	15	16	17	18	19	total	working
1860	30 %	20 %	50 %	75 %	75 %	107	53
1880	11 %	22 %	38 %	51 %	70 %	202	86

Table 3

Working, aged 15 - 19

	male	%*	female	%*	total	%+
1860	25	40	13	29	38	36
1880	46	46	24	23	60	30

Table 4

Working aged 15 - 19 attending school

	male	%*	female	%*	total	%+
1860	9	14	6	13	15	14
1880	5	5	2	2	7	3

Table 5

Schoolattending, aged 15 - 19

	male	%*	female	%*	total	%+
1860	21	34	8	18	29	27
1880	23	32	28	27	51	25

Table 6

Nather working nor attending school, aged 15 - 19

	male	%*	female	%*	total	%+
1860	16	26	24	53	40	37
1880	30	30	51	49	81	40

* related to the male or female overall sample of youth aged 15-19

+ related to the overall sample of youth aged 15-19

SUMMARY

The enforcement of compulsory education as a means of state politics towards immigrating groups in the United States of America during the second half of the nineteenth Century is the topic of this paper. The group investigated, Germans in rural Wisconsin, had a fairly high standard of school attendance even during the first decade of their settlements. They reached the North Eastern standards of enrollment in 1880. Since official state politics were oriented along the line of the aims of the Common School Reform Movement, they tried to repress the private parochial school system established by the German immigrant churches through language restrictions as the requirement of English as language of instruction if a private school should be acknowledged as substituting public schools and through compulsory school laws. The latter though did not serve its purpose to draw children into the public schools since the German immigrants were generally strong advocates of school attendance and had adjusted their parochial school system to the law's requirements. The paper reports on school attendance in two German settled communities in rural Wisconsin.

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LE RECENSEMENT DES CONSCRITS, LE REGLEMENT DU TRAVAIL DANS L'INDUSTRIE DU TABAC ET LA SCOLARITE OBLIGATOIRE DANS LA VILLE HANSEATIQUE DE BREME DE 1841 A 1844

Wiltrud Ulrich Drechsel
Franck Neumann

1. La portée de la loi sur l'obligation scolaire à Brême

C'est en deux étapes - en 1842 et 1844, donc nettement plus tard que les autres gouvernements allemands - que le Sénat de Brême, ville libre de la Hanse, ordonna que tous les enfants âgés de 6 à 14 ans devront aller à l'école.

Depuis déjà des siècles et surtout depuis le 19e siècle, s'étaient multipliées les plaintes relatives au manque d'instruction, à la fréquentation scolaire irrégulière, à la mendicité, et au vagabondage de nombreux enfants et adolescents. Mais depuis des siècles existait également tout un réseau de petites écoles privées, paroissiales et publiques, et dès le 18e siècle, des connaissances rudimentaires en lecture, en écriture et en calcul étaient "assez répandues" (1) dans la population masculine. Donc, le Sénat réglementa ce qui en fait était déjà une norme sociale dans les classes moyennes et élevées ainsi qu' une recommandation impérative de l'Eglise. Cette scolarité obligatoire de huit ans changeait seulement la situation scolaire des classes populaires, entraînant pour celles-ci une scolarité plus longue et plus régulière.

Toutefois, à Brême, l'obligation scolaire ne s'accompagna pas de la gratuité des cours obligatoires. Tout comme au préalable, il fallait pour qui ne voulait pas officiellement se faire classifier comme "pauvre", payer une rétribution scolaire. L'introduction de la scolarité obligatoire ne s'accompagna pas non plus d'une unification de l'enseignement élémentaire. Tout comme avant, les élèves se répartissaient dans une hiérarchie de petites écoles: les écoles du soir ou de l'après-midi (pour les enfants employés dans l'industrie du tabac), les écoles de l'assistance publique (gratuites, admission par l'intermédiaire de l'assistance publique), les petites écoles privées (dispensant en général un enseignement élémentaire, parfois même supérieur; avec rétribution scolaire d'un montant variable, quelques écoles disposant de places financées par le gouvernement), les écoles paroissiales (avec rétribution scolaire; pour des besoins d'instruction dépassant l'enseignement élémentaire) et enfin les écoles élémentaires privées et publiques dépendant d'établissements scolaires supérieurs (avec rétribution scolaire). C'est seulement la constitution de Weimar (1919) qui instaura la gratuité et l'unification du système scolaire élémentaire.

2. L'obligation scolaire et le règlement du travail pour les ouvriers du cigare.

A multiples reprises, plusieurs instances avaient manifesté leur intérêt quant à l'introduction de la scolarité obligatoire: le gouvernement qui insistait auprès des parents pour qu'ils envoient leurs enfants à l'école, les pasteurs qui déploraient l'ignorance et l'immoralité des catéchumènes, et plus récemment, les enseignants (2) qui dénonçaient l'insuffisance des écoles et se prononçaient en faveur d'une réforme scolaire. Mais c'est seulement suite à des mouvements sociaux qui vinrent troubler le calme de Brême, que la question de la scolarité obligatoire devint l'objet d'une discussion politique.

Dans les années trente, Brême était devenu le marché du tabac le plus important d'Europe. Le développement du commerce avec l'Amérique entraîna un essor considérable du secteur de la transformation du tabac, si bien que celle-ci devint l'activité la plus importante de Brême. En 1841, on comptait 185 fabriques de cigares employant 2 o17 ouvriers; en 1842, on atteignait 515 fabriques de cigares employant 2 836 ouvriers. En 1852, le revenu d'environ 1/5 des habitants de Brême dépendait directement ou indirectement de l'industrie du tabac (3).

La production des cigares, qui était assurée en partie par le travail à domicile, en majorité par de petits voire très petits ateliers et par quelques rares grosses manufactures, dépendait essentiellement des capitaux du commerce du tabac. Elle se concentrait dans les faubourgs et était une industrie libre, c'est-à-dire sans structure corporative. Les ouvriers des fabriques de cigares pour qui les femmes et les enfants effectuaient toutes les tâches en aval de leur travail, étaient des salariés liés uniquement par un contrat de travail et non soumis au contrôle d'une corporation. Les ouvriers du cigare passaient pour être des gens trèsdissipés et instables qui changeaient souvent d'emploi, qui fêtaient le lundi sans hésiter, et qui se manifestaient bruyamment dans les rues quand ils se rendaient dans le centre de la ville pour y livrer leurs produits ou pour y chercher de la matière première.

C'est en rapport avec l'intérêt de discipliner les ouvriers du cigare que la question de l'obligation scolaire prit un caractère politique. En 1836, une cinquantaine de fabricants s'adressèrent par une supplique au Sénat de Brême. Ils s'étaient regroupés sous forme d'une "association" et avaient voté des "lois" qui devaient mettre un terme à la fluctuation et à l'insubordination des ouvriers du cigare, et ils réclamaient l'approbation officielle de leur projet. Le Sénat satisfit à leur requête; mais il constata également que "l'ordre et la subordination" des ouvriers du cigare était "un problème touchant à l'intérêt public", qui ne devait donc pas rester le problème particulier de l'association des fabricants de cigares (4). En 1837, on forma une commission qui devait faire un rapport sur les petites écoles et qui devait examiner "la nécessité et la nature d'éventuelles mesures légales quant à la scolarité obligatoire" (5).

Malgré les réclamations du Bürgerkonvent, la commission ne présenta aucuns résultats. Les réserves à l'égard de l'obligation scolaire - il s'agissait surtout de l'argument selon lequel elle ôterait à la fabrication du tabac une main d'oeuvre dont elle avait un besoin urgent - semblent avoir été les plus fortes.

C'est seulement en 1841 que le projet fut repris en rapport avec une émeute qui éclata suite à un recensement des conscrits. Le Sénat avait imposé une loi sur le service militaire obligatoire, faisant fi des protestations énergiques de nombreux citoyens qui avaient fait des pétitions dans des "Clubs" et lors d'une assemblée des maîtres-artisans de toutes les corporations. Lors du recensement des conscrits dans l'Hôtel de ville, il y eut des "scènes tumultueuses", non seulement dans la salle de l'Hôtel de ville mais aussi dans la cave, au sous-sol, où étaient conservés les fameux vins du Sénat. En ville se formèrent "de gros attroupements". La police et la troupe appelée d'urgence occupèrent les accès au centre-ville et dispersèrent les émeutiers avant qu'ils ne puissent atteindre l'arsenal où étaient entreposés des armes. Aussitôt, le Sénat renouvela le décret qui avait été pris lors des derniers troubles de 1827, et le lendemain soir, le calme était rétabli (6).

Plus significatives que la répression policière ou militaire - qui,elle, ne différait pas des réactions des autres gouvernements face aux troubles du Vormärz - furent les conséquences politiques que tirèrent le Sénat et le Bürgerkonvent de cette émeute. Deux jours plus tard, ils étaient déjà d'accord sur le fait qu'il était urgent d'organiser une éducation scolaire réglementée pour les enfants "des classes populaires",et qu'il était nécessaire de surveiller "la conduite des ouvriers adultes se recrutant en majorité dans ces classes" (7).

Toutefois, une réglementation générale allait à l'encontre des intérêts des fabricants de cigare: des cours pendant le temps de travail portaient préjudice à la production dont le bon fonctionnement dépendait du travail des enfants effectué en aval. Le 4 avril 1842, le Sénat publia un "Décret concernant les fabriques de cigares". Les dispositions les plus importantes étaient la création d'une inspection des ateliers, l'introduction du livret de travail, le règlement selon lequel il fallait engager un surveillant pour plus de dix ouvriers, et enfin, l'obligation scolaire pour les enfants employés dans les fabriques de cigares.

Dès lors, il était donc interdit d'employer les enfants âgés de moins de dix ans. Quant à la scolarisation des adolescents travaillant dans les fabriques de cigares, on trouva un compromis: jusqu'à l'âge de douze ans, ils devaient aller à l'école deux après-midi par semaine à raison de trois heures; durant leur treizième et quatorzième année, ils fréquentaient l'école du soir quatre fois par semaine à raison de deux heures. L'inspection des ateliers et le livret de travail qui devait contenir une mention relative à la Confirmation (ou bien un certificat d'enseignement élémentaire) garantissaient dans une certaine mesure le respect de ces prescriptions (8).

3. L'élargissement de l'obligation scolaire

L'émeute de 1841 avait montré clairement que le contrôle du gouvernement qui jusqu'alors visait en priorité les ouvriers du cigare, ne devait pas s'y limiter. Un décret du 12 janvier 1844 étendit le contrôle à "ces classes" auxquelles appartiennent les ouvriers du cigare: le Sénat décréta que tous les garçons et les filles âgés entre six et quatorze ans qui n'avaient pas été touchés par le "Décret concernant les fabriques de cigares" devront aussi fréquenter une "école assignée ou agréée par le gouvernement".

Seuls étaient exemptés les enfants qui pour des raisons de santé physique ou mentale ne pouvaient pas suivre l'enseignement et ceux qui donnaient la preuve qu'ils recevaient une instruction suffisante soit auprès d'un précepteur, soit dans un internat ou autre institution. La scolarité obligatoire pouvait être prolongée au-delà de la quatorzième année si un enfant "donnait des signes de dépravation durant l'enseignement obligatoire" ou bien elle pouvait être abrégée si un enfant "avait acquis des connaissances scolaires suffisantes". Un enfant pouvait être dispensé de suivre les cours régulièrement seulement dans des "circonstances familiales ou personnelles particulières", mais ceci pas avant la onzième année de l'enfant (9).

Ainsi, dans ce contexte marqué par une émeute de la période du Vormärz, il ressort que l'obligation scolaire sanctionnée par la loi constituait pour le gouvernement un moyen d'exercer un contrôle sur les classes populaires urbaines. Les couches ne vivant pas conformément aux normes de travail et de comportement de la classe bourgeoise, devaient par le biais d'une éducation scolaire et par la discipline du travail se plier aux règles de la société bourgeoise ou du moins apprendre à ne pas les enfreindre.

A Brême, l'obligation scolaire n'avait rien à voir avec une quelconque qualification professionelle des futurs ouvriers. La fabrication des cigares n'exigeait aucune qualification d'origine scolaire, et à Brême, ville commerçante, on n'enregistrait même pas les débuts d'une industrialisation. Bien au contraire: la classe des commerçants - classe la plus influente politiquement -, retardait le développement industriel, car une production industrielle allait, pour des raisons de politique douanière, à l'encontre de ses intérêts et elle préférait investir ses capitaux excédentaires en dehors des frontières de l'Etat de Brême. Il était bien plus urgent de parer à la désintégration d'une population croissante vivant du travail salarié.

A la différence des appels et avertissements lancés jusqu'alors par le gouvernement, le décret de 1844 relatif à l'obligation scolaire était muni de tout un dispositif exécutif.

On établit des relevés de tous les enfants en âge scolaire. En 1845, on les enregistra "maison par maison" (1o). Les parents étaient obligés d'indiquer l'école qu'ils avaient choisie pour leurs enfants. S'ils contournaient le décret, alors ils risquaient qu'on portait plainte auprès de la police qui, elle, avait recours à des "moyens de coercition adéquats" pour obtenir la scolarisation des enfants.

Des dispositions encore plus sévères étaient prévues pour les petites écoles pour lesquelles la rétribution mensuelle s'élevait à moins d'un "thaler". Auparavant, les parents avaient remis la somme directement aux instituteurs et institutrices; dès lors, celle-ci était perçue chaque mois par des employés attitrés. Tous les mois, les instituteurs et institutrices devaient présenter un rapport sur les absences scolaires, à la suite duquel on décidait des sanctions à prendre (11). Ceci permettait d'empêcher les parents de régler la scolarité de leurs enfants au gré de leur situation matérielle ou de leur bon vouloir. Il ne leur était plus possible de faire l'économie de la rétribution scolaire en interrompant la scolarité de leurs enfants soit pendant quelques temps, soit définitivement s'ils estimaient les connaissances acquises suffisantes; ils ne pouvaient pas non plus changer d'école pour mettre un terme aux réclamations d'un enseignant insistant pour toucher des rétributions scolaires impayées.

Plus efficace que les rapports avec les débuts d'une administration scolaire - qui, pour certains parents, étaient sans doute les premiers contacts avec les instances de l'Etat et ses moyens coercitifs - fut probablement le fait que la nouvelle réglementation de l'obligation scolaire sanctionnait des comportements que certes la morale bourgeoise avait condamnés, mais qui, jusqu'alors, n'avaient pas été criminalisés. La norme de la bourgeoisie urbaine qui scolarisait ses enfants obtint ainsi un caractère universel. Toutefois, on peut penser que cette norme se heurtait à de nombreux égards aux modes de vie des classes populaires. Suite au décret relatif à l'obligation scolaire, le nombre d'élèves augmenta (surtout dans les écoles des pauvres), mais les absences scolaires restèrent un problème qui devait préoccuper l'administration scolaire pendant des dizaines d'années.

4. L'obligation scolaire et la situation des enseignants

L'élargissement de l'obligation scolaire posait la question de savoir si les petites écoles étaient en mesure d'assurer ce processus d'intégration qu'on attendait d'elles. A cet égard, on s'interrogeait moins sur la nature des cours dispensés que "sur la situation dans laquelle se trouvent les enseignants vu le caractère négligeable et irrégulier de leurs revenus" (...), "situation qui ne leur permet pas d'exercer leur métier avec entrain et qui doit avoir une influence des plus néfastes sur l'instruction de ce grand nombre d'enfants obligés de fréquenter ces établissements scolaires privés" (12).

Après avoir fait une enquête approfondie sur les petites écoles privées et confessionnelles, en 1843, le Sénat et le Bürgerkonvent estimèrent qu'il était urgent d'améliorer ces écoles. La situation des enseignants qui dirigeaient une école à leur compte, constituait un problème. Il existait 39 écoles de ce type qui, pour la plupart, étaient dirigées par des femmes. Le montant de la rétribution scolaire variait d'école à école et, souvent, les modestes revenus de ces enseignants et enseignantes atteignaient à peine la moitié des revenus d'un artisan. Ils ne pouvaient compter sur une aide financière de l'État qu'en cas de besoin extrême ou en cas de dépenses exceptionelles pour leur école (13).

Qu'est-ce qui a amené le Sénat à se préoccuper de l'augmentation des salaires des enseignants parallèlement à l'introduction de l'obligation scolaire? Deux facteurs motivaient cet engagement: d'une part, un certain nombre d'enseignants qui, dans le cadre de l'association "Euphrosyne" fondée en 1837, répandaient des idées nettement républicaines et propageaient l'idée d'une réforme libérale du système scolaire, avaient trouvé des sympathisants auprès de la petite bourgeoisie opposante (14). Ainsi, en s'engageant en faveur d'une amélioration des écoles, le Sénat pouvait mettre un terme à ces critiques. D'autre part, il était clair que les enseignants dont les revenus dépendaient entièrement de la solvabilité et de la bonne volonté des parents, seraient plutôt disposés à faire des concessions à leurs clients qu' à veiller à une application stricte de l'obligation scolaire. Mais il était impensable de mettre en oeuvre l'obligation scolaire à Brême sans la participation des petites écoles privées.

En faisant percevoir la rétribution scolaire par des employés attitrés, le Sénat améliorait sensiblement les revenus des enseignants privés puisque ceux-ci touchaient la somme régulièrement et à date fixe. Dans un même élan, le Sénat décida de prendre en charge la moitié des frais de location des locaux scolaires et du logement des enseignants, ce qui constituait aussi un allégement considérable. Dans des conditions favorables, les revenus d'un directeur d'école privée pouvaient maintenant se rapprocher de ceux d'un enseignant travaillant dans une école de l'Etat ou dans une école paroissiale. En 1854, le comité préposé aux questions d'enseignement déclara rétrospectivement que l'obligation scolaire aurait été introduite "afin d'améliorer la situation des directeurs d'école" (15). Toutefois, l'introduction parallèle de l'obligation scolaire et du recouvrement institutionnalisé de la rétribution scolaire montre bien que le Sénat n'avait pas abandonné ses conceptions premières selon lesquelles les coûts de l'instruction élémentaire ne doivent pas être pris en charge par la société, maisdoivent rester à la charge des individus, en fonction de leurs besoins d'instruction.

5. Conclusions

a) A Brême, l'introduction de l'obligation scolaire faisait partie d'une politique qui visait à établir de nouvelles formes d'un contrôle social exercé par l'Etat, dans les domaines de la société où les institutions traditionnelles (telles que les corporations ou les Eglises) n'assumaient pas leurs fonctions intégratives et normatives. Si le contrôle de l'Etat semble tout d'abord partiel, cela tient aux limites que lui imposaient les intérêts capitalistes. C'est seulement en relation avec la marge d'action que lui accordaient ces intérêts que le contrôle de l'Etat a pu s'étendre et prendre un caractère global.

Ni le décret de 1842 ni le décret de 1844 ne furent en en mesure de soumettre tous les enfants à la même scolarité obligatoire. Une obligation scolaire générale au sens strict du terme n'intervint qu'après 185o, non pas à la suite d'un décret, mais comme résultat de fait, à la suite du déclin de l'industrie du tabac à Brême et de son retrait en dehors des frontières de la ville. La demande en main d'oeuvre décrut, et on put renoncer au travail des enfants. Le décret de 1842 fut remplacé par un autre selon lequel il était interdit d'employer les enfants âgés de moins de 14 ans dans les fabriques de cigares. Au cours des années suivantes, les effectifs scolaires diminuèrent rapidement dans les écoles de l'après-midi et dans les écoles du soir. La fréquentation pendant huit années d'une école du jour "assignée ou autorisée par l'Etat" devint générale (16).

b) Même s'il ne pouvait pas encore être mis en oeuvre, le principe d'une politique d'enseignement qui s'appliquerait à tout le système éducatif et qui serait du ressort de l'Etat, a été mis en avant pour la première fois lors du débat sur l'obligation scolaire. Bien sûr, il n'avait pas encore été question d'unifier les petites écoles sous le contrôle de l'Etat; en tant que programme politique, l'idée apparut plus tard, pendant la révolution de 1848/49, propagée par les Démocrates parmi lesquels on retrouvait quelques membres de l'association "Euphrosyne". Toutefois, le recouvrement public de la rétribution scolaire et les subventions de l'Etat accordées aux enseignants et enseignantes des petites écoles privées n'avaient pas seulement pour but d'améliorer leur situation matérielle mais aussi de les soumettre à une surveillance publique et de les lier aux normes de l'Etat.

Le soutien accordé aux petites écoles privées ne fut que de courte durée. Dès 185o, beaucoup d'entre elles furent fermées et vingt ans plus tard, elles n'nétaient plus que l'exception dans le système scolaire de Brême.

Depuis le milieu du siècle, l'action de l'État à l'égard des petites écoles n'était plus caractérisée par des interventions partielles, mais par des mesures globales de restructuration. La création d'une commission d'examens pour les enseignants et d'une école normale, l'introduction de la séparation des sexes et d'un système de classes par groupes d'âge, la création d'une inspection pédagogique, ainsi que l'instauration d'une programme scolaire obligatoire: tout cela marqua les étapes d'un processus d'unification des petites écoles. La création de nombreuses écoles publiques et le passage successif des écoles paroissiales sous le contrôle de l'Etat montrent encore plus nettement le caractère nouveau de la politique de l'État. Les petites écoles devinrent Écoles primaires publiques (Volksschulen), tout en conservant une structure qui correspondait à la ségrégation sociale: une partie des écoles primaires étaient payantes, les autres étaient gratuites. Vers la fin du 19e siècle, les unes étaient devenues les écoles de la petite et moyenne bourgeoisie et les autres celles du prolétariat.

Parmi les gagnants de cette évolution, on relève sans aucun doute les enseignants qui ont ainsi acquis un statut social garanti par l'Etat, qui ont pu donner un caractère professionnel à leurs activités pédagogiques et se forger une identité propre en tant qu'instituteur ou institutrice fonctionnaire. Un résultat de cette fixation a l'idée d'un système éducatif homogène et contrôlé par l'Etat - fixation née de l'Histoire -, pourrait résider dans le fait qu'actuellement, les enseignants sont difficilement en mesure d'imaginer qu'un enseignement professionnalisé puisse être assuré en dehors d'un système scolaire géré par l'Etat.

(1) K. Schwarz, Die Lage der Handwerksgesellen in Bremen während des 18. Jahrhunderts, Bremen (Staatsarchiv Bremen) 1975, p. 2o4.

(2) V. H. Wulff, Geschichte der bremischen Volksschule, Bad Heilbrunn/Obb. (Klinkhardt) 1967, pp 29-3o, p. 66; v. aussi Traugotts Briefe über das bremische Volksschulwesen in seinem gegenwärtigen Zustand und seiner zeitgemäßen Verbesserung, Bremen 1842 (anonyme).

(3) V. D. Herms, Die Anfänge der bremischen Industrie vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zum Zollanschluß (1888), Bremen (Schünemann) 1952, pp. 6o-66; v. aussi H.-L. Schaefer, Bremens Bevölkerung in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, Bremen (Dorn) 1957.

(4) V. Acta betreffend die Regulierung des hiesigen Cigarrenfabrikwesens und Anordnung einer permanenten Aufsicht über dasselbe; namentlich mit Bezug auf das Verhältnis der Arbeiter zu den Fabricanten, - auf die sittliche und intellectuelle Verwilderung der Ersteren,- auf die Beseitigung der weiblichen Arbeiter ... ect., 1835-1837, 1841, April - 1842, Juni - Aug. 4. (Staatsarchiv Bremen 2 - Ss. 5.b.35.a. Bd. 4)

(5) Bürger-Convents-Verhandlungen 1837, November 17, p. 3o1.

(6) V. Acta betreffend die tumultuarischen Auftritte v. 2o. April 1841 bei Veranlassung der Einzeichnung der Wehrpflichtigen, und die zur Dämpfung derselben getroffenen Maaßregeln, mit dadurch veranlaßten weiteren Verhandlungen, 1841, April, 2o - Mai, 21 (Staatsarchiv Bremen 2 - D.17.b.4.a.1)

(7) Bürger-Convents-Verhandlungen, 1841, April 23, pp. 89-9o.

(8) V. Sammlung der Verordnungen und Proclame des Senats der freien Hansestadt Bremen, 1842, pp. 1o-18.

(9) V. Verordnung zur Einführung einer allgemeinen Schulpflichtigkeit in der Stadt und Vorstadt, Sammlung der Verordnungen und Proclame ... ect., 1844, pp. 1o-15.

(1o) H. Wulff, op.cit., p. 66

(11) V. Verordnung zur Einführung einer allgemeinen Schulpflichtigkeit ... ; v. aussi Verordnung die Erhebung der Schulgelder betreffend, op.cit., p. 17.

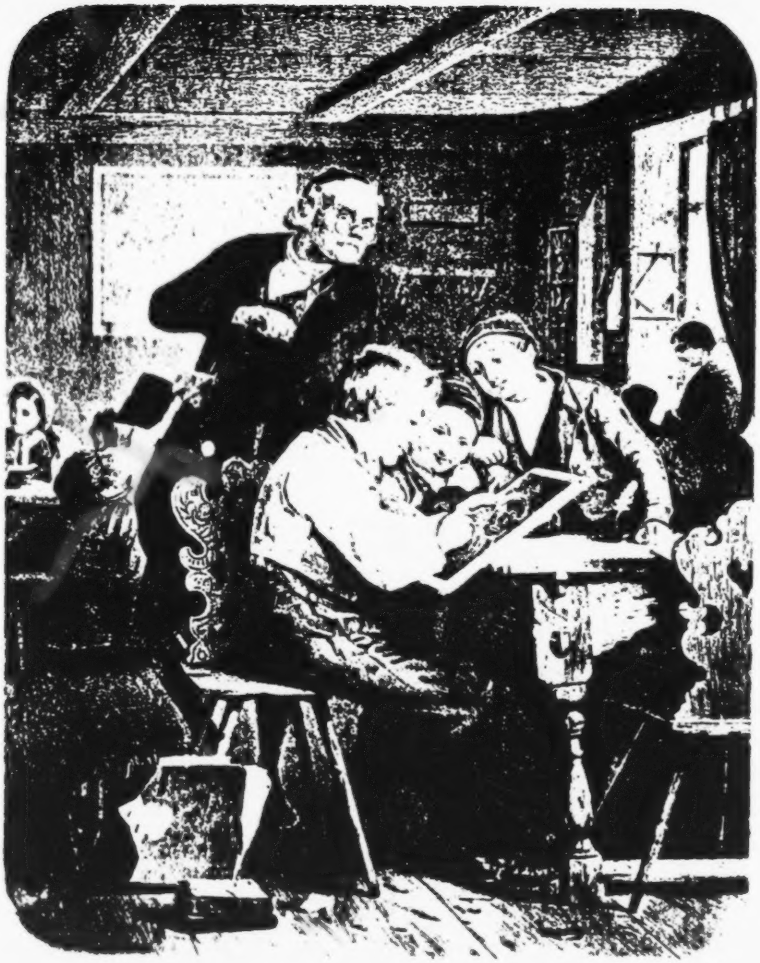
(12) Bürger-Convents-Verhandlungen, 1843, November 24, p. 195.

(13) Ibid., pp. 196-198.

(14) V. H. Schwarzwälder, Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, Bremen (Röver) 1976, t. II, p. 178.

(15) Verhandlungen zwischen Senat und Bürgerschaft, 1854, Februar, 17, p. 6o.

(16) V. Obrigkeitliche Verordnung, das Cigarrenfabrikwesen betreffend, Sammlungen und Proclame des Senats der freien Hansestadt Bremen, 185o, pp. 61-64; v. aussi D. Herms, loc. cit., et H. Prüser, Das Problem der Kinderarbeit in Bremen während der Vor- und Frühindustrialisierungsperiode, Bochum 1973 (dactylogr.), pp.1o2-13o.



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Giovani allievi irriverenti si divertono a fare la caricatura del maestro. Stampa dell'800.

A SOCIAL-HISTORICAL APPROACH TOWARD MASS EDUCATION IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY

Klaus Wiese

The historiography in the Federal Republic of Germany on pedagogical topics has employed social-historical approaches for several years. Flowing from this perspective, this approach has sought to achieve an "explication of the concrete social foundations and consequences of education, instruction and training within the context of comprehensive social systems." (HERRMANN, 1974, 284). 1)

If one investigates the studies of these social-historically oriented, educational researchers in the Federal Republic of Germany, with attention to their perceptions of the connection between society and education, one discovers a weak analytical context for this relationship. 2) This is a result of the combination of formulations, paradigms and sociological theories which they have found available in the social sciences. Instead, they have no theoretical understanding of the connection between society and education. Because of this fundamental theoretical and methodological difficulty, the premises of a "social history of education" ("*Sozialgeschichte der Bildung*") generate that unique "presentist" research which although represented by a multiplicity of highly specialised investigations and conclusions, do not allow a general analysis of the subject (cf. TENORTH, 1982, 1ff). 3)

In order to pursue the question further, and to avoid the problems of historicism and normative values, I have attempted to combine a materialist theory of education (*Bildungstheorie*) with a general sociology of schooling. Whether this attempt is successful I leave to the reader to decide. In any case it is necessary to remain faithful to precise concepts, in order to maintain consistency and clarity. I fear though that my abbreviated, axiomatic, argumentative approach which I am forced to adopt here will conceal questions which are still open. Many of these questions have occurred as well to me, and I regretably can neither define them nor discuss them here. 4)

My premise for my socio-historical analysis of bourgeois schooling phenomena will first be presented. In the second part I will demonstrate its applicability with the example of the first mass-education school in Berlin.

I.

The core of the educational problem ("*Bildungsproblem*") of a bourgeois society lies, according to Georg RÜCKRIEM, within the specific mode of production identified by Karl MARX, particularly in the way in which individuals produce their general societal relationship ("*Gesellschaftlichkeit*") through the bourgeois production of material goods. (Cf. RÜCKRIEM, 1981, 36) This mode of production makes possible societal relationships only through the form of privacy ("*Privatheit*"); this occurs because individuals do not relate willingly to the conditions and requirements of their social existence. Instead, they relate foremost and above all to others as private owners (if not with goods, then at least with their for labour-power) in the marketplace.

From this arises a unique reversal, a mystification which permits individuals to realise their privacy in an experiential sense only within an unrealised (and also unrealizable) anonymous societal relationship -- the fetishism of goods ("*Fetischcharakter der Warenwelt*") (MARX). It also prevents a direct, functionally useful education in everyday life. The private owner needs a specific form of education to deal with the bourgeois society. (Cf. RÜCKRIEM, 1981, 36) From this perspective, the economic structure of an bourgeois society is the prerequisite which generates school as a general social institution.

The historically new necessity for an especially designed education of the individual prerequisites of the private owner is a direct consequence of the economic structure of bourgeois society. The articulation of compulsory, mass-education ideas and policies, with their implicit and explicit political values, and their social implementation, arises within the broadly diffused, bourgeois mode of production. These are but expressions of the fact that the individual owner, that is, every individual within a bourgeois society, must have a certain minimal understanding of the entire structure of the society to be able to function within that society.

This general education ("Allgemeinbildung") is therefore the necessary substitute for the impossibility, within the context of a capitalist society alone, for the individual by himself to draw upon all the educational experiences (mode of perception of reality, of thinking, of value orientation, and of action) which are needed for his existence as a private owner, i.e., a citizen of a bourgeois society.

A special advantage of RÜCKRIEM's formulation is found in his emphasis upon the significance of the economic structure of a bourgeois society for the general characteristics by which it resolves its educational problem. Regretably unable to develope these characteristics here in a systematic fashion, I only note them briefly: 5)

Specifically significant is the necessity of a bourgeois school, its elevation to a universal compulsory school, its isolation/abstraction from daily life, and the universality of education as a representation of the commonality in all divisions of labour and social relations. (Cf. RÜCKRIEM, 1981, 36f) These fundamental characteristics are to be seen as contradictory, just as with other essential relationships in capitalist societies. These ways of resolving the bourgeois educational problem implies further characteristics which I cannot here consider.

It must be emphasised that these conditions, as the most general characteristics of the bourgeois school, cannot have a direct interpretative value as representations of historical phenomena. To the problem of displaced concreteness, and its consequences, I make reference here.

I am aware that my approach will be criticised as mechanistic, historical materialism. Alas, this form of criticism does not comprehend that a historical materialist analysis is not restricted alone to the economic categories of evidence. The proof of the pudding is the historical analysis itself. 6)

In order to develope the pedagogical implications of the social requirements which bourgeois educational problems must acquire, and in order to be able to develope an analysis of their specific historical resolutions, I am applying the principles noted above within the framework generated by BOURDIEU/PASSERON, specifically found in reference to schooling conditions in "Fondements d'une theorie de la violence symbolique" (1970) ("Foundations for a theory of symbolic violence").

RÜCKRIEM, upon the foundation of a MARXist conceptualization of bourgeois society, refers to the social necessity of schooling conditions BOURDIEU/PASSERON enquire to a certain degree in an opposite direction about the forms which schooling must develope in order to impart the principles of society in a bourgeois setting. These they characterise as "habitus", "permanent education" ("dauerhafte Bildung"). (cf. BOURDIEU/PASSERON, 1973, p. 45).

Using the terminology of BOURDIEU/PASSERON, the fundamental problem of a bourgeois society requires the conquest of the objective distance between the individual's pre-school, socially unsuitable, primary habitus (e.g., the family's formation of its children) on the one side, and the desired habitus, which is necessary for the bourgeois individual on the other. The separation or gap between a socially-disseminated primary habitus (e.g., of larger social groups or of socio-economic classes) and a historically-determined habitus occasioned by the bourgeois society in general is the sociological precondition for mass schooling. This distance distinguishes the social requirements which mass schooling must accomplish. On this foundation BOURDIEU and PASSERON also construct the pedagogical and schooling practices which

which are necessary to overcome the gap between the two kinds of habitus. This cannot be represented here, although the categories which are generated from this approach yield a decisive methodological instrument for a detailed pedagogical investigation of the characteristics of a specific historical school. 7)

Briefly, however, schooling practices as an "institutionalised form of secondary pedagogical work" (BOURDIEU/PASSERON, 1973, 75) are determined essentially by the separation between the primary habitus and that which it is socially necessary to learn. This gap defines the required content, i.e. its limitations (cf. ibid., 48), the type or method whereby the content will be learned or internalised (cf. ibid., 48, 59); the productivty or effectiveness of the pedagogical practice (cf. ibid., 60f), its traditional pattern (cf. ibid., 61); and the longevity of the learning (cf. ibid., 48).

The appropriateness of the habitus which must be internalised through schooling conditions is the criterion for "pedagogical work" (BOURDIEU/PASSERON). Logically, my theoretical concept appears like this: schooling is a function of the habitus which must be internalised; this in turn is a function of the social expectations upon the individual, and all of his/her own expectations from society (material as well as immaterial); these are a function of the mode of production underlying the society in question. This logical interrelationship is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a successful historical analysis. It clarifies as well the logical extent of the declarations about the fundamental pedagogical problem of bourgeois society noted above.

I am hopeful that I have at least clarified to some extent that the indicated methodolgy is successful to the degree that it makes possible a theoretically based pedagogical socio-historical analysis of a specific educational setting, by dealing with the degree to which the distance can be bridged between the primary habitus and the desired habitus. The historical primary habitus must be synthetically reconstructed on the one hand and the requirements of the society upon the individual's social-economic class or group as well as the individual's expectations of society on the other. Mass schooling exists because of the gap between the two.

II.

The concrete, historical analysis of a pedagogical phenomena, for example the Berlin communal school for the poor (Kommunal-Armenschule) in 1827, requires an investigative hypothesis which assumes that the social and pedagogical characteristics of the bourgeois mass school are reflected in these schools. More importantly is its capacity to generate practical, research-oriented, empirical questions. The goal of a socio-historical analysis is to investigate, whether and, in fact, how a specific pedagogical phenomena of universal compulsory educational history, in this case the communal school for the poor in 1827, is a bourgeois school.

The complexity of the research process is very great because it corresponds to the great complexity of the relationship between the mode of production and the pedagogical phenomena. In order to demonstrate the analytical technique suggested by this approach, in the following section I offer a small excerpt out of my other published investigations into the Berlin communal school of 1827. 8) This concerns the goals of this school, and whether they are general (Allgemeinbildung).

The pupils of this first Berlin mass education school were children of wage-earners or traditional producers of goods. At this time there were very few wage earners in the still quite small private capitalist sector. Most were employed by traditional producers of goods (e.g., artisans), or by the state or community. Their conciousness nonetheless was bound to a great extent to the feudal, i.e., late-feudal, social structure. Industrialization in Berlin occured at the end of the 1830s'. At the time of the planning and foundation of the Berlin communal school for the poor, roughly between 1820 and 1827, the wage-earner relationship had not yet become generalized and socially determined by a capitalistic economy.

The rural and small town populace which migrated in unprecedented numbers to Berlin, until 1807 a feudally dependent rural population as well as formerly dependent artisan, the master craftsmen who worked on others' account, and the soldiers, from which the poor at the gates of the city were composed, appeared threatening to the contemporary consciousness of the town's established citizens. They seemed to be uneducated for an orderly life in an urban society. This is reflected in the goals which were formulated in the Prussian Ministry of Spiritual, Medical and Instructional Affairs for the public schooling of Berlin's poor. 9)

According to these expectations, schools for the poor were established, to lead the children "toward industriousness, order, cleanliness, lasting diligence and occupation, obedience and above all toward piety and virtue." (RESKRIPT, 1823, 201). Industriousness, moderation, fidelity and Christian piety are the virtues which all citizens, and not only the "lowest working and serving class", should display. (Ibid., 200) That means, it appears that the poor should acquire in the first mass compulsory schools of Berlin the principle characteristics of the bourgeois habitus, because their lack of these virtues in the eyes of their propertied and educated contemporaries was seen as an expression of the absence or inadequacy of the poor's schooling "for the conditions and situations of bourgeois life." (BECKEDORFF, 1826, 187)

In order to confirm this judgement, on the evidence of the historical statements, it must be determined whether or not the educational goals actually were an historical expression of a bourgeois habitus. To achieve this, the historian must investigate whether the educational goals represent an education which could be accomplished by its recipient in the following three conditions:

a) as continually valid, because the bourgeois mode of perception of reality, of thinking, of value orientation and of action required continual validation; b) as universal, because it had application within a great number of living and working conditions; and c) as general, because it successfully and entirely contained the social settings in which the pupil lived (cf. BOURDIEU/PASSERON, 1973, 47f).

The decisive authority on elementary schools in the Prussian Ministry of Spiritual, Medical and Instructional Affairs at this time was Ludolph BECKEDORFF. His conceptualizations determined that pupils from the "lowest class" ("*unterste Volksklasse*") as well as the entire "youth, indeed of both sexes, destined for a working and commerical life" should be "equipped with all the knowledge and dexterity ... which generally are indispensible, whether for every member of the religious and urban community, whether especially for those who seek to devote themselves to one of the many professional branches of trade and commerce". (BECKEDORFF 1825, 35f)

BECKEDORFF seeks therefore -- in contrast to the neo-humanistically inspired draft of the Prussian educational law of 1819 -- no uniform general education or even a uniformly organized national school system. Rather he wants a "natural, inequitable estate education" ("*eine naturgemäße() Ungleichheit der Standes-Bildung*") (BECKEDORFF, 1825, 32). Just the same his conceptualization of mass schooling expresses with the recognition of its necessity for all citizens (cf. *ibid*., 38) the social necessity of a general instruction.

In BECKEDORFF's definition of a general instruction a claim for a general education also is made. For, as a general component of education he considers "the indispensible knowledge and dexterity required for every person as a member of the church and the state," (1825, 24) within which belongs, "above all ... the knowledge of religion ("*Religionskenntnisse*") ... as well as the correct and fluent usage of the mother-tongue, reading, writing and arithmetic". (*Ibid*., p. 24f)

To summarize, if the postulated minimal education actually included "correct and fluent" speaking, reading, writing and arithmetic, it was undoubtedly a general, universal, and continually valid education. But could this general education actually be accomplished in this historically concrete situation and be politically as well as pedagogically practical?

The chief official in the Berlin school council ("Stadtschulrat"), K.W.F.REICHHELM attempted to accomplish this task, saying, "We desire that boys and girls be graduated from our schools for the poor who have a pious spirit, be embued with the Word of God, have a satisfied heart, be accustomed to obedience and industriousness, and well-instructed in the indispensible knowledge and dexterity of daily life". (1827, 180). Consequently the communal schools for the poor had to "offer everything, in order to make order, diligence, and the most punctual obedience among their pupils so much a matter of habit, so that the persistance of these praiseworthy fundamental characteristics may be expected with great likelihood." (REICHHELM, 1827, 187)

In the curriculular statement and lesson plan of the Berlin communal school for the poor it can be seen that a complete elementary instruction was contemplated. The goal was an elementary mastery of the most important aspects of a universal, symbolic skills. When measured on modern standards, only instruction in a foreign language and the formal, isolated study of geometry, natural science and history are lacking.

To be sure, the pupil was educated in a religious world-view, but this was still historically common and for that reason applicable to reality, and in no way a contradiction to the "modern" bourgeois habitus. These "unmodern appearing" attributes should not be interpreted as anachronistic or divorced from daily bourgeois life, or even as an indication of a "feudal", submissive education. (In fact, there was no such formal general education in the feudal period.)

With its intention to be a school for the masses, its universal, general and continually-valid curriculum, with its religious interpretation of the world, with its disposition to an "energetic" and "happy" industriousness, with "diligence" and "punctual obedience", the goals of this, the first Berlin public mass educational institution describe the general maxims for conduct and orientation in a bourgeois society.

Because the content of the education "for the poor" in the first Berlin mass schools, as noted above, was indeed so general, it had validity far beyond the primary living and working setting of its recipients. For that reason, it guaranteed them not only a relatively universal fundament for working and surviving, but even in principle opened the possibility of a self-directed cognition of reality in a critical sense, which might inspire a political opposition. Despite its "feudal", "estate-like", and "pre-modern" characteristics -- termed "reactionary" within common and respected West German social-historical analysis 10) -- it was nonetheless a bourgeois school; this school is sociologically the same mode of school as schools in contemporary capitalistic societies.

For the purposes of this paper the bourgeois character of the general educational goals of the Berlin communal school for the poor of 1827 as an early (the first in Berlin) mass education institution has been demonstrated. The discussion of its actual educational accomplishments, although an indispensible part of the analysis, cannot be introduced here. 11)

NOTES

1) Translated from German as all quotations in this paper. I am grateful to Douglas Skopp who was undispensably helpful in translating.

2) See, for example, the selection in HERRMANN, U. (Ed) (1977) Schule und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert, Weinheim und Basel.

3) For example, see also the discussion in DUDZIK, B. (1975) 'Geschichtstheoretische Probleme einer Sozialgeschichte der Erziehung' Informationen zur erziehungs- und bildungsgeschichtlichen Forschung 3, pp. 121-138.

4) For detailed distussion see WIESE, K. (1985) Die "Volksschule" in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, Ph.D. Diss., Technische Universität Berlin, pp. 101-137.

5) In detail, see ibid., pp. 104-117.

6) A short introduction to the relationship between the historically determined abstractions and concrete historical materials in terms of their surface appearances and empirical details, see, for example, LIVINGSTONE, D.W. (1983) Class Ideologies and Educational Futures, Barcombe, Lewes, pp. 19-31, spec. 23ff.

7) In detail, see WIESE, K., op. cit., pp. 118-131.

8) Ibid., pp. 138-210.

9) BECKEDORFF, L. (1825) 'über den Begriff der Volksschule' Jahrbücher des Preußischen Volks-Schul-Wesens 1, pp. 24-39.

10) For example, see the interpretations of early mass schooling in MEYER, F. (1976) Schule der Untertanen, Hamburg, LESCHINSKY, A./ROEDER, P.M. (1976) Schule im historischen Prozeß, Stuttgart, MÜLLER, D.K. (1977) Sozialstruktur und Schulsystem, LUNDGREEN, P. (1980) Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Schule im überblick, Teil I, Göttingen, HERRLITZ, H.-G./HOPF, W./TITZE, H. (1981) Deutsche Schulgeschichte von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart, Königstein/Ts., and HERRMANN, U. (Ed), op. cit.

11) See, for example, my attempt in WIESE, K., op. cit., pp. 191-204.

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SUMMARY

With evidence from the Berlin Communal School for the Poor of 1827, using socio-historical categories, this paper briefly suggests an analytical framework of historical bourgeois schooling in general. Guidance is taken from works by MARX, BOURDIEU/PASSERON, and RÜCKRIEM. The validity of this approach must be measured through further comparative studies of other mass-educational settings in early bourgeois societies.

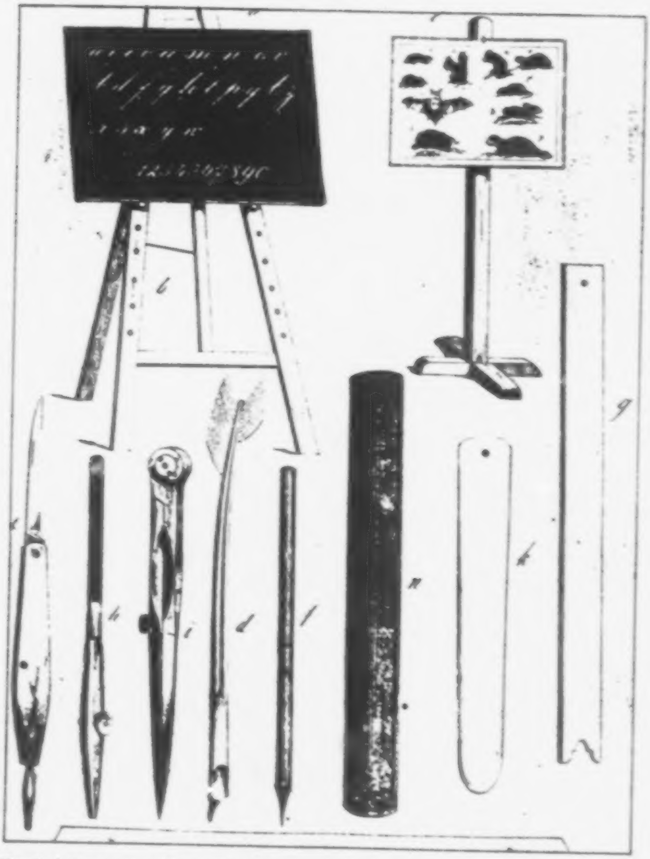

Tavola da Istruzione e diletto. *Metodo per iniziare i fanciulli alla osservazione accurata delle cose ed alla appropriata espressione del nome loro e delle loro qualità e caratteristiche.* 1ª serie. 2ª ediz. italiana. Verona, Libreria alla Minerva Ed., s.d.

THE DIMINISHED ROLE OF FORMAL EDUCATION IN NATIONAL SOCIALIST GERMANY

Geoffrey J. Giles

It is a commonplace that the Hitler Youth tried to undermine the formal school system in National Socialist Germany. This does not in itself explain the lackluster efforts of the Education Ministry in pursuing reforms that might have revitalized German schools in the Nazi image. One crucial need was for the speedy, yet careful production of new textbooks that would reflect the specific, ideological concerns of the regime. This paper addresses the failure of the educational leadership in this particular area, which suggests a lack of concern with the success of classroom teaching.

Ideological indoctrination through school textbooks is not a feature peculiar to totalitarian regimes. While the French and German governments were struggling in 1925 to place their relations with each on a more peaceful footing, two million copies of an historical primer were circulating in French elementary schools, urging children never to forget for the rest of their lives what the Great War taught them about evil, German aspirations.[1] The Nazis themselves commented on these "classic examples of political incitement and the poisoning of children's souls" in France before 1940.[2]

More common than these negative attacks are statements cast in a positive light about the rôle of the mother country in the international sphere. Thus school textbooks were used from the latter part of the 19th century to promote the tide of nationalism which ran through Europe. In Britain this grew out of the historical writings of Sir John Seeley. The late-Victorian wave of children's books which heavy-handedly encouraged patriotism, even with racist overtones, lingered through the Second World War.[3] The mere existence of a particular type of book is no measure of its success. In fact, an oral history study of English schools between 1889 and 1939 shows a surprising amount of subversion of the formal syllabus in working class neighborhoods. Yet this same study indicates that the imperialist elements of the school curriculum, including colorful, flag-waving festivals, were often among the most successful in shaping conformist attitudes.[4]

Why did the National Socialists not realize this? In part, they did, and placed great store by the ritualistic aspects of Hitler Youth activities. But the rivalries endemic to the Third Reich placed a great divide between this youth movement and the classroom. There was no integration of ideological training. For this shortcoming, Hitler himself must bear much of the blame. The Nazi leader's memories of his own schooldays were largely unhappy. The imagery he conjured up in recalling them in later years is revealing: the teachers were dirty men, with unclean collars and unkempt beards.[5] Hitler Youth leaders were always viewed as the complete opposite: fresh-faced, clean-cut, mentally alert and physically fit idealists for the National Socialist cause. In Hitler's eyes teachers had not changed much since his boyhood. He had such a low opinion of the value of what went on in the classroom that he once commented, in his sexist fashion, that elementary schoolteaching, like typing was something on which men should not be wasted. It should be left to women, whose limited intellect was better suited to such purely mechanical and repetitive work. Indeed, he believed it would be a very good thing if Germany's two million spinsters could be conscripted into the teaching force, thereby putting their natural, maternal instincts to good use, instead of effectively hindering the growth of Nazi Germany by their failure to produce children.[6]

These private remarks are strikingly different from the public rhetoric on the importance of education, notably at the start of the Nazi regime. The NSDAP made itself known as the party of youth. Among the more educated members of the movement there existed a keen awareness of the need to effect a nazification of the education system, in order to secure the support of coming generations for the goals and policies of the government. Given the structure of the Third Reich, one would expect such an attempt to be vigorously directed from the center. Yet the traditional forms of educational governance presented a difficulty here. The regional diversity and confessional differences of the country had persuaded successive governments since 1871 to leave the control of education in the hands of the individual, federal states (Länder). In 1933 the National Socialists quickly moved toward destroying the autonomy of the Länder in most areas, including the control of the police. Wary of serious opposition if they seized everything in one fell swoop, they left education in the Länder's hands.

Thus no national ministry of education existed in the first year and a half of the Third Reich. Initiatives for radical action emanating from Bernhard Rust's Prussian Education Ministry, the largest and most important, were often copied elsewhere. The leadership signals coming from the Reich Interior Ministry, the only national ministry with some, limited control over education, appeared on the other hand to be more often cautionary than revolutionary. In 1933 Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick declared that it would be quite soon enough to clamor for new textbooks in 1935: too much haste might result in abandoning valuable elements among existing books, and in devoting insufficient care to the production of the new ones.[7] Even Rust, the man in the position to make the most striking changes, gave repeated assurances that the textbooks currently in use would not generally be replaced; rather, supplementary pamphlets would be issued where necessary as a corrective. And indeed few schoolbooks were banned outright.[8]

One consideration was the economic plight of the publishers, already weakened by the Depression. Fearing widespread bankruptcies from the wholesale banning of textbooks from the old regime, they made successful representations to the educational authorities not to add to Germany's unemployment figures by such action.[9] This may sound improbable in the midst of a Nazi "revolution", but it underlines the conservative core of National Socialism that lay beneath much of the radical rhetoric. Hitler did not wish to alienate the existing Establishment totally, but rather to harness it for his long-term plans.

As in other areas of German society, educational policy aimed in part to neutralize rather than abruptly to destroy. The Party set up its own elite institutions to compete with the best state schools. Bernhard Rust hoped that the appearance of his own, superior textbooks would cause sales and use of the old ones to die away. He made a start with readers for the elementary school. The first volumes of these appeared in 1935 for certain classes and they were in use for all levels of the elementary school by Easter 1939. But that is as far as Rust went. No new textbooks were introduced across the board in other elementary school subjects of central, ideological importance such as history, biology or geography. Nor did any centrally directed textbook reform for other types of school get significantly under way.[10]

Although university students undertook a dramatic purge of libraries and bookstores in 1933, culminating in the notorious book-burnings, the government backed away from a similar purge of school libraries. In typical fashion, Prussian Minister Rust actually planned such a campaign as early as 1933, but only got around to issuing instructions in 1937. These "guidelines" had no legal underpinning, and were vague in nature, directing the inquisitors simply to remove books of "superannuated content."[11] It was left to other agencies like the Nazi Teachers' Assocation to issue more precise specifications, which were however generally rejected by the teachers themselves, who thereby effectively sabotaged the pervasiveness of the campaign.

The Reich Education Ministry (called into being under Rust's leadership in May 1934) found its scope for effecting textbook reform severely diminished in 1940, when Hitler ordered that the reponsibility for the introduction of new textbooks should be removed altogether from Bernhard Rust for the next ten years. He gave the charge instead to Philipp Bouhler, the head of the Party office that vetted ideological publications, awarding a warrant of offical approval where appropriate. It has been assumed that Bouhler himself intrigued to gain this extension of his power within the Nazi hierarchy, but the evidence now indicates that the ever scheming Goebbels was the instigator of the move, when he alleged to Hitler that the "almost universal" use of completely outdated, pre-Nazi textbooks was causing general complaint among the public.[12]

The attack signalled by Bouhler's new commission brought a vigorous response from the Education Ministry. It was not true, wrote Rust, that he had done nothing about textbooks for the last eight years. Rather he was on the verge of completing the replacement of old schoolbooks entirely, and only needed another two years for this. True, there had been some delays, but they had been caused in no small part by the Party itself. Directives could not be issued for the rewriting of textbook materials until the guidelines for the reform of the curriculum had been agreed upon. And the Party had withheld its approval of those till January 1938 for the higher schools, and December 1939 for the elementary and middle schools. The impact of the new textbooks already printed was smaller than hoped because it had not proved possible to realize the plan of providing them free to all children. The Finance Ministry, besieged with the demands of the rearmament program, had repeatedly denied requests to fund this measure. Finally there had been further unavoidable delays in proofreading the completed manuscripts of new books after the outbreak of war, because so many editors had been called up for military service. Through all this, the Minister managed to convey the impression of vigorous activity and imminent achievement.[13]

Hitler himself was obliged to admit that the problem was not as serious as he had been led to believe. Typically, he did not react by cancelling his appointment of Bouhler as textbook overseer, but made a point of requesting him to press forward, seeking perhaps at this stage to precipitate firm results from one quarter or another through the existence of rival agencies.[14] Yet if we look for a measure of Hitler's earnestness in resolving the question, we do not find it in the concrete powers he gave Bouhler. By the summer of 1941 the latter was complaining that his textbook deliberations were being made impossible by the refusal of the Education Ministry to include him in their planning of curricular reform.[15] Yet Hitler specifically refused to sign a decree drafted for him by the Reich Chancellery, which made cooperation on the latter point mandatory between Rust and Bouhler, considering it "too far-reaching". Nor did Hitler wish Bouhler to concern himself with all schoolbooks, he added on this occasion, but merely with those in ideologically sensitive areas like history and geography.[16]

Having expanded his power base, Bouhler did not now wish to restrict it again. And so he launched forth with new revelations of Rust's incompetence. An inspection of school libraries initiated by Bouhler had for example turned up 21,431 unsuitable books, requiring withdrawal.[17] Probably feeling the best form of retreat to be attack, Bouhler set about acquiring land to build a headquarters office for his Reich Committee for Educational and Instructional Publications. This ostentatious ploy failed amid the atmosphere of financial restraint in the non-military, wartime economy. Hitler pronounced the real estate venture "unnecessary" and indeed Bouhler's whole, new organization as "much too large."[18] Even this supreme reprimand did not stop him in his tracks, for five months later the Reich and Party Chancelleries were moved to take joint steps to prevent the purchase of land by Bouhler.[19]

A truce between Rust and Bouhler seems to have lasted for the next two years but in the Spring of 1944 tempers flared again. The Education Minister had committed himself to the principle of regional variations among schoolbooks. Two thirds of the content of his elementary school readers was identical across the country, while one third contained material relating to the particular region in which the book was used. This was meant to encourage a closer identity among Germany's youth with the "blood and soil" of their locality. Twenty-two different regional sections of the reader had been published. Bouhler, less sensitive to such cultural considerations, renewed his campaign to create a single, standard, uniform set of readers for every child in the Reich. And so the arguments continued.[20]

The very toleration of such endless and unresolved disputes by Hitler casts doubt on his confidence in the effectuality of the compulsory school system in making National Socialist citizens out of the youth of Germany. A further indication of his curtailment of the ideological rôle of the schools is the unmourned dissolution of the Nazi Teachers' Association in March 1943. In truth, the initiative had passed to the Hitler Youth, of which membership was all but compulsory by 1939. Its leadership spoke in all seriousness of eliminating the school as an "educational factor", alongside the Hitler Youth and the family. It probably meant political education and character training, the only aspects that really mattered to most Nazi leaders.[21]

There is no question that many of the Education Ministry's officials were sincere in their desire for significant reforms. It is also clear that they suffered from the well-known political weakness of their Minister within the hierarchy, and were signally unsuccessful in their quest for resources that could have carried them to their goal. By 1941 the Ministry had the text of 28 million new schoolbooks printed and lying in storage. It failed utterly, however, to obtain the requisite, wartime permission to have the printed pages forwarded to the bookbinders, so that the books could be assembled and placed in distribution.[22] Any efforts at radical reform were certain to founder sooner or later without the blessing of Hitler. His attitude is clear from a remark made in April 1941, over eight years after coming to power, when he dismissed the whole textbook question as "in no way urgent."[23] The Nazi school system is often viewed as a particularly draconian arm of that totalitarian state. In truth, it suffered from poor leadership, inadequate resources and muddled organization, which diminished the respect in which it had been held by government and society under both the old Empire and the Weimar Republic.

NOTES

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3. John M. MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire. The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960 (Manchester, 1984), pp. 184 & 190.
4. Stephen Humphries, Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939 (Oxford, 1981), p.42.
5. Henry Picker, Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier (Wiesbaden, 1981), p. 217.
6. Ibidem, p. 218.
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9. Franz Selmeier, Das nationalsozialistische Geschichtsbild und der Geschichtsunterricht 1933-1945 (München, 1969), pp.108-131.
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11. Ibid., p. 35.
12. Ibid., p. 30, but cf. Bormann to Lammers, 25 September 1940, Bundesarchiv Koblenz (BA) R43II/953b.

13. Rust to Lammers, 5 October 1940, ibid.
14. Bouhler to Lammers, 17 October 1940, ibid.
15. Hederich to Meerwaldt, 27 June 1941, ibid.
16. Aktenvermerk Lammers, 3 April 1941, ibid.
17. Bouhler to Reichsausschuss für das Schul- und Unterrichtsschrifttum, Rundschreiben Nr. 1, April 1941, ibid.
18. Vermerk Lammers, 30 October 1941, ibid.
19. Vermerk Lammers, 26 March 1942, ibid.
20. "Schulbucheinheit in Sicht," *Das Reich*, 23 April 1944; Rust to Lammers, and Rust to Bouhler, 24 May 1944, BA R43II/953b.
21. Michael H. Kater, "Die deutsche Elternschaft im nationalsozialistischen Erziehungssystem. Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte der Familie," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 67,4, 1980, p. 499.
22. See note 15.
23. See note 16.

SUMMARY

Le rayonnement des idéologies au moyen des livres de classe n'est pas seulement un trait des régimes totalitaires. Il apparaît aussi comme appui important de l'impérialisme en plusieurs pays, au 19^{e} siècle. Quoiqu'on ait pu s'attendre au contraire, les Nazis ne devait pas profiter de l'occasion que les écoles leur avaient offerte. Une réforme radicale et complète des textes d'enseignement n'eut pas lieu par manque de direction ferme dans le système d'éducation publique. Le ministre de l'Education ne réussit même pas à introduire de nouveaux livres de classe pour les matières les plus susceptibles d'orientation idéologique et, par conséquent, les plus importants pour le maintien de l'hégémonie nazie, à savoir l'histoire, la biologie et la géographie. Les luttes internes typiques du Troisième Reich allaient compromettre toute chance de réforme. D'ailleurs, Hitler n'offrit aucune assistance, faisant plutôt preuve de mépris à l'égard des écoles et des maîtres, et ne s'intéressant guère à ces tentatives de réforme. Surtout, son attitude allait empêcher le succès des idéalistes qui avaient rêvé d'introduire de nouveaux manuels dans une école elle aussi nouvelle.

POLICY IN PRACTICE: FAMILIES AND THE INTRODUCTION OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING IN ESSEX TEXTILE DISTRICTS

Grace Belfiore

The English Education Act of 1870 was supported by many at the time in order to reach those children as yet virtually untouched by voluntary effort --the "rough and ragged," "street arabs" belonging to the "dangerous classes."[17] Although discussions of this subject are confused by the variety of views on the nature of the nineteenth century working classes, educational historians generally appear to support the conclusion that it was among the very poorest who were affected. Lawson and Silver quote Altick in describing the Act as a "mopping up operation," and continue, ". . . In the countryside, schools were opened where none had previously existed. In the towns it was among the most depressed classes that the effects of the 1870 and subsequent Acts were most felt." J.S. Hurt suggests that the middle stratum who, before compulsion, sent their children to school "as and when they could," after the 1870 law, became "those 'respectable' ones who sent their children to school regularly and obeyed the new laws." It was the lowest group, "who had never sent their children before 1870," who now attempted to see that they attended as little as possible in defiance of the new laws.[1]

Yet an intensive study of the first twenty years of the imposition of compulsion in Essex textile districts suggests that at least in an intitial stage, the interaction of working-class families with school attendance bodies and courts within these towns accord ill with the standard views of English educational history, formed from the scattered evidence of parliamentary commissions and HMI reports.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the northern Essex textile towns on which this study focuses were clearly industrial -- as the home of Samuel Courtauld's thriving silk mills -- but hardly exploding urban centres. Fifty-eight % of the working population in 1881 was employed in manufacturing (31% in silk alone) and, in common with northern textile cities, nearly 50% of all women over twenty (as well as 28% of wives) worked. Yet combined population was just over 15,000, and numbers in two of the three towns were actually decreasing slightly.[2]

This was an area which, like most others by the 1870s and 1880s, offered no widespread, structured young child labour. Yet strong traditions of child participation in the family economy had been established through earlier mill and farm work, as well as through the prevalence of two cottage-based industries which had fourished in the previous decades. Furthermore, the reconstitution of the local occupational structure within the home virtually guaranteed the need for multiple-earner families, with adult males involved in the least regular work. And unlike other textile community families, those in Essex rarely used residence strategies to ameliorate financial or domestic problems. Sharing was extremely rare, with nuclear families forming their own small households unbuffered by lodgers or kin.[3]

Into a set of traditions, constraints and opportunities, then, which reinforced the interdependence of at least nuclear family members, bye-laws for compulsory elementary schooling were interposed, for Bocking and Braintree in 1874 and 1876 and for Halstead in 1878. Parents were now to be required to send children to school -- and to pay for them. Family strategies involving children ran up against the local School Boards, School Attendance Committees and the courts.

The 'submerged tenth' or 'deserving widows'?

Certainly in the early days of Essex textile town compulsion, the view from board and bench was considerably broader and more complex than expected. Firstly, involvement by class was more widely spread and shifted up the occupational scale. While unskilled workers' families appeared slightly more often than expected, semi-skilled workers were most likely to appear, along with a not inconsiderable representation of skilled workers.[4] (See table.) Apparently during the first decade of compulsion, more of the "most depressed classes" managed to escape the attentions of enforcement authorities. On the other hand, semi-skilled workers appeared before authorities over three-quarters as often again as their presence in the town would account for. This middle stratum had been expected to be 'respectable' and obey the new laws, yet many appeared to continue their 1860s behaviour of sending children 'as and when' they could. In this they were joined by a perhaps surprising number of craftsmen, tradesmen and skilled factory workers.

SOCIAL CLASS - CASES AND TOWNS SCHOOLCHILD HOUSEHOLD SAMPLE (%)

SOCIAL CLASS	BOARD/BENCH CASES	ALL SCHOOLCH HHs
I Professional	.7	5.3
II Intermediate	2.7	6.3
III Skilled	29.3	48.1
IV Semi-skilled	47.3	26.2
V Unskilled	20.0	14.1
N 100%	147	206

Obviously other factors were also at work in determining problems with regular fee-paying attendance. Lifecycle stage appears to have been the most important among the two-parent working-class families. Although it was not possible with the data available to calculate precise lifecycle stages[5], several factors strongly suggest that appearance was likely to be related to LCS 4, a relatively advanced stage in family formation when some, but less than half of the children in a family were working. The age of male heads and their wives (heavily concentrated in the 36-40 year age range), the percentage of working wives (particularly small - 6.6%), and family size (particularly large - 31.8% with 4-5 children, 54.1% with 6 or more) -- all these characteritics create a profile which fits well with that of LCS 4 families in the towns in 1881. More of non-compliance families than of towns schoolchildren families had infants and toddlers, and more as well had children of working age. While the number of resident children was reaching its peak, dependants still outnumbered workers and young children still required care. This represents a shift from earlier in the century when LCS 3 (no children yet working, and before peak family size has been reached) is generally considered to have been the greatest poverty stage. However, as opportunities for child labour decreased and years of schooling extended, the length of each child's dependent years increased. By the time the oldest child began to work, the number of dependent younger siblings would now be greater and the paltry earnings of the first or second recent school leaver would be less likely to tip the balance to survival or comfort.[6]

This problem stage must have been a relatively common occurrance. Indeed, the best data available suggests that in the first twelve months of bye-law enforcement in each town 10.5% of families with school-age children were caught up in fee and attendance enforcement mechanisms. However, focusing in on LCS 4 reveals that a third (32.6%) of town families in this stage of life appeared in the first burst of enforcement activity.[7] Obviously early involvement with local enforcement mechanisms was a relatively widespread experience which involved families, often in a particular stage of life, from the upper and lower as well as the solid middle range of the working class.

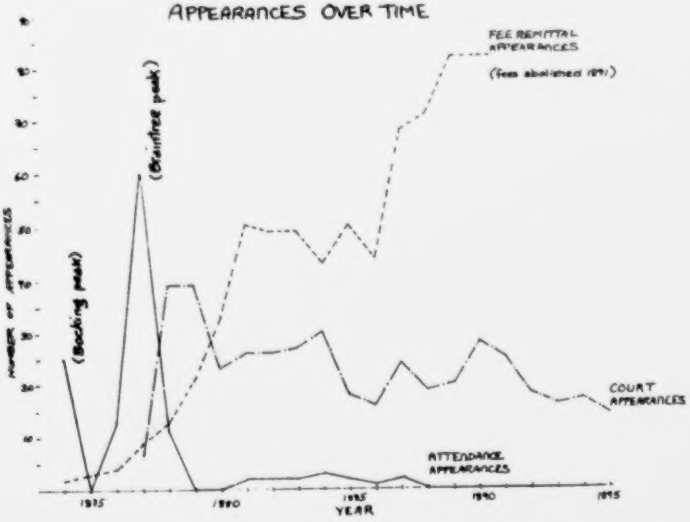
Involvement stemmed from a variety of reasons. Occupation had some effect. Semi-skilled agricultural workers, for instance, were more likely to be involved with enforcement mechanisms that their presence in the towns would indicate, while semi-skilled factory and tradesmen were slightly less likely to appear than their numbers in the population would suggest. (60.6% of case families in SEG III were agricultural workers, a group which made up 53.7% of the towns schoolchild households.) Non-compliance families were also likely to be larger, and more often to be headed by females. But there was also a great deal of variation within the 'problem' population. Requests for fee remittal were more likely to be made by female heads and unskilled male heads whose testimony focused on the absence of a steady, adequate wage. Early board attendance cases involved more than their share of skilled workmen and semi-skilled factory workers with large families in LCS 4 who stressed the large burdens they carried. Court attendance cases involved more agricultural labourers and families with working wives.

These characteristics are overly simplified, for the three types of cases involved families of all types. For instance, skilled workingmen and even higher SEG families were actually involved in fee appearances almost as often as they were in attendance appearances (33.4% of the former and 36.8% of the latter types of appearance involved these higher SEG families). But this simply serves to underline the impression that early enforcement mechanisms were likely to involve quite a broad range of the community, rather than isolating a particular sector. The circumstances and strategies of the group varied as well. Testimony at board attendance cases, for instance[8], indicated that children were wanted to be sent to wage work in 27.4% of cases, and to help at home in 23.0%; that their non-attendance was related to illness in the family (especially of the mother) in 17.7% of cases; and that the child was in fact attending a 'non-efficient' school in 12.4%. (35.4% cited poverty in general) The selection included working and a surprising number of non-working mothers requiring home help, older children of both sexes wanted almost equally for early wage work, a few parents who contended their children "learn more than those who do go," and perfectly 'respectable' widows who were claiming, through fee remittal or attendance exemptions, support to which they felt as entitled as to their parish loaves.

Early enforcement, then, was spread amongst quite a broad range of the working-class community. It reveals that strategies for children involving less than full and regular fee-paying attendance were still widely scattered as late as the 1870s and that the controversy over whether school pence or the loss of children's wages caused the greatest difficulties ignores a third factor, probably more important in these families than fees, though less so than wages: children's contributions to caring responsibilities and domestic chores which facilitated family functioning at the crucial later poverty stage.

Change over time

The working of attendance enforcement mechanisms was to change, however, over the years. Different sectors of the community were more greatly affected, and they were involved in different ways. Firstly, broad trends in the types of cases over time (See graph.) suggest different uses of the three mechanisms. The concentration of attendance cases in the very earliest years suggests their role was to ease the transition to full, regular, fee-paying attendance, and to educate parents as to the expectations of the law. The courts' dealings with more intransigent problems remained more level throughout the period, with some overall decline due perhaps to educative effects and, after 1891, to the abolition of fees. The pattern of fee appearances, however, suggest quite a different dynamic. It appears to have taken five years or so for the community to become fully aware of remittal (and perhaps to accept its distinction from poor relief). The subsequent plateau suggests that most of the parents who would be likely to request remittal were doing so, while the subsequent doubling of demand coincides with depression of the silk mills, and therefore of the towns in general, which began in 1886.[9]



Furthermore, the sector of the community involved within each type of case changed somewhat over time, as comparison of families first appearing 1874-1884 (first decade families, FDFs) with those first appearing 1885-1895 (second decade families, SDFs) reveals.[10] Proportionately fewer female heads, for example, and skilled or non-agricultural semi-skilled workers in LCS 4 or temporarily out of work, applied for fee remittal in the latter period. (22.8% of SDFs compared to 31.7% of FDFs were female-headed; 26.5% and 8.8% of SDFs compared to 33.4% and 17.9% of

FDFs were skilled workers and non-agricultural semi-skilled workers respectively.) Remittal was now more often requested by those poor due to chronically low or unstable wages -- unskilled workers and semi-skilled agricultural labourers. Second decade wives were much more likely to be working (37.2%, compared with 2.3% of first decade wives) suggesting both that poverty was particularly great and that they were less likely to be in LCS 4. (The latter hypothesis is supported also by the fact that their families were considerably smaller; 29% of SDFs compared to 58.8% of FDFs, had six or more coresident children.)

Attendance cases, of course, had virtually disappeared by the second decade. What had happened to the two-parent, skilled worker in LCS 4 with a large family and non-working wife, which had figured most heavily in these cases? Did they appear now before the courts or had they been successfully educated in the ways and means of "full and regular" attendance? Second decade court families, it emerges, were quite similar to first decade court families. In fact, if any change is detectable, it is toward more unskilled workers and smaller families. Our more skilled LCS 4 families, it seems, were not shifted on to court.

After the early period, then, attendance enforcement mechanisms which had previously involved a variety of groups within the working-class community, began to deal more exclusively with a narrower, more homogeous group. The primary element in this change was the virtual cessation of board attendance cases, which had involved the most diverse population and obviously dealt with custom as well as need. But even within fee and court cases, evolution took place toward those poor due to low and seasonal income, and away from those actually in hardship or simply following custom related to specific life circumstances such as female heads, those in the poverty stage of the family life cycle, or skilled workers temporarily out of work. The mechanisms also began to pick up some of those previously untouched. In the long run, these forces would have been divisive, perhaps sharpening differentiations within the working classes between the rough and the respectable by providing another measure of the latter in regular attendance. Various sectors of the working classes who had previously utilised schooling on their own terms now planned family strategies around the new parameter that it be a regular activity for all their children thorughout their school years.

Obviously, this sequence would not have been the same everywhere. Different constellations of local work patterns, the working-class heritage of schooling, educational attitudes of the local elites and the ways in which they put these into practice undoubtedly resulted in different dynamics. But it is likely that strategies and customs for children outside wage labour will prove to have been important in most areas of England by the 1870s and 80s; and that images of the effected population require further qualification (and quantification). The national outlines of long-term change to compulsory schooling in England (and elsewhere) may be quite well defined. But the study of the introduction of change 'on the ground' and of the transition to new behaviour have much more yet to yield about the families and communities involved and thus, by reflection, on the legislation as well.

NOTES

(Place of publication London unless otherwise noted.)

1] J. Lawson and H. Silver, A Social History of Education in England (1973), p. 234; J.S. Hurt, Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes 1860-1918 (1979), pp. 210-211.

2] Statistics on the towns' population and family structure given here and below derive from a one in six sample of households from the 1881 census enumerators' books. The occupational information was catagorised according to W. Armstrong, "Use of information on occupation," in E.A. Wrigley, ed. Nineteenth Century Society (Cambridge, 1972) and divided into sectors as in B.R. Mitchell and P. Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge, 1962), pp 60-61. Halstead's population in 1881 was 6,701; Braintree-Bocking's was 8,529.

3] The absence of child labour resulted from a complex set of factors ranging from the agricultural depression and technological change to employment legislation and the attitudes of the mill owners. Previously, household production involved softsilk weaving and strawplaiting. Sharing of houses by two households was virtually non-existent; the mean number of persons per household was low (4.1; England and Wales average 1881 was 4.6); only half as many households (8%) contained lodgers and less than half as many (4%) contained parents or married children as in crowded Preston in 1851. M. Anderson, Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 44, 46.

4] The data are drawn from all cases in which parents appeared before the School Boards in Bocking and Braintree and the local Petty Sessional Courts in these towns and Halstead, and linked for over 70% of the familes with household information from the 1881 census. They involved over 400 children from 228 families who made over 800 appearances. These families are compared with all households containing schoolchildren from the general sample described in note 2. As Hurt predicted: "There are good reasons for suggesting that the hard-working respectable poor were the first to bear the full brunt of the ministrations of the school attendance officer." "Unfortunately," he wrote at the time, "we . . .know little about the social background of those who were brought before courts." op.cit,p.155.

5] LIfecycle stage schema used is that of Anderson, op.cit., p.202.

6] On the earlier poverty stage, see, e.g: J. Foster, Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution (1974), pp. 98-99; L. Tilly, "Individual Lives and Family Strategies in the French Proletariat," Journal of Family History, vol 4,no 2, p. 47; and Anderson, op.cit. p.166.

7] The number of families with school-age children in 1881 was used as a proxy figure for the same in the years in question (1875 in Bocking, 1876 in Braintree and 1877 in Halstead).

8] Percentages for reasons refer simply to the proportion of appearances for which reasons were given in which that reason was mentioned. Up to three reasons were recorded per appearance, so totals may exceed 100%.

9] D.C. Coleman, Courtaulds: an Economic and Social History, Vol 1 (Oxford, 1969), p. 150.

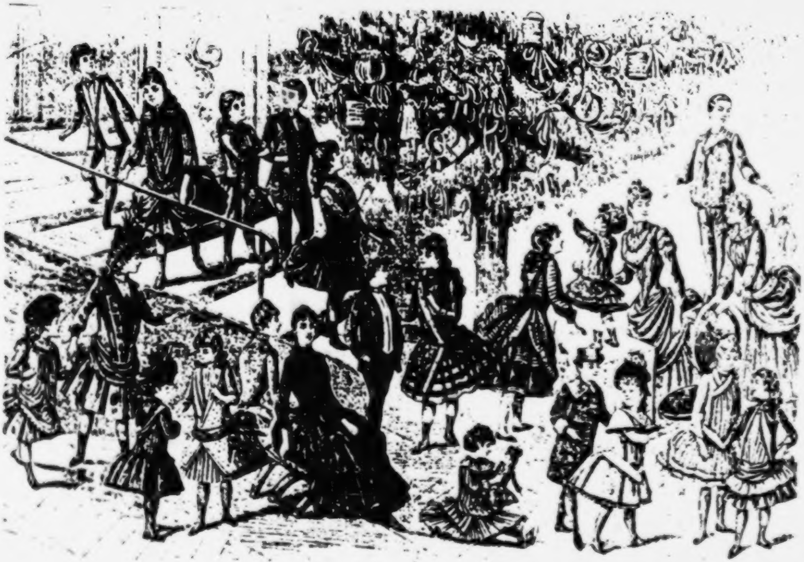
10]Study of the second decade involved over 130 families who made over 380 appearances. See note 4.

SUMMARY

The English Education Act of 1870 was supported by many in order to reach those children as yet virtually untouched by voluntary effort --the "rough and ragged," belonging to the poorest classes. Yet an intensive study of the first twenty years of the imposition of compulsion in Essex textile districts suggests that, in an initial stage, the interaction of working-class families with school attendance bodies within these towns accord ill with the standard views. Firstly, involvement by class was more widely spread and shifted up the occupational scale. While unskilled workers' families appeared slightly more often than expected, semi-skilled workers were most likely to appear, along with a not inconsiderable representation of skilled workers. Of other factors, lifecycle stage appears to have been the most important, particularly LCS 4, with a third (32.6%) of town families in this stage appearing in the first burst of enforcement activity. LCS 4 is a relatively advanced stage in family formation when some of the children in a family were working. This represents a shift from earlier in the century when LCS 3 (no children yet working)is generally considered to have been the greatest poverty stage.

Involvement stemmed from a variety of other reasons: occupation, family size and the absence of a male head had some effect. But there was also a great deal of variation of strategies within the 'problem' population. In particular, controversy over whether school pence or the loss of children's wages caused the greatest difficulties ignores a third factor, probably more important in these families than fees, though less so than wages: children's contributions to caring responsibilities and domestic chores which facilitated family functioning at the crucial later poverty stage.

The working of attendance enforcement mechanisms was to change, however, over the years. Enforcement which had previously involved a variety of groups within the working-class community began to deal more exclusively with a narrower, more homogeneous group. Evolution took place toward those poor due to low and seasonal income, and away from those actually in hardship or simply following custom related to specific life circumstances (such as female heads, those in the poverty stage of the family life cycle, or skilled workers temporarily out of work). While the mechanisms began to pick up some of those previously untouched, other sectors of the working classes who had previously utilised schooling on their own terms now planned family strategies around the new parameter that it be a regular activity for all their children throughout their school years.



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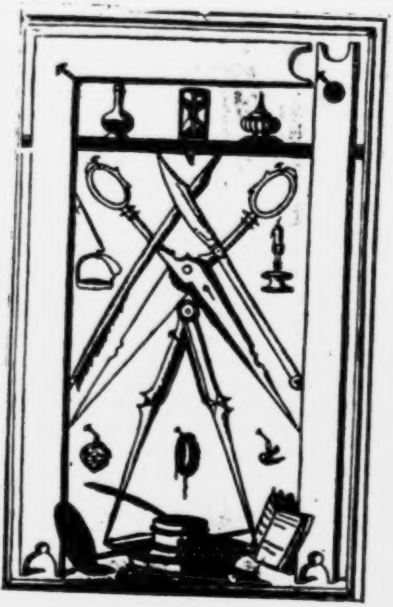

NOTES FOR A PATTERN OF ANALYSIS OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN LATIN AMERICA DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Gabriela Ossenbarch-Sauter

This paper takes some ideas to work out a theoretical pattern of analysis of the introduction of compulsory education into Latin American countries towards the end of the XIXth century. The pattern is understood as a device which, though taking into account the parallels, or even the unity, among the different Latin American countries, at the same time will contribute, by means of its application to each national case, towards a study in comparative history.

Speaking about compulsory education requires a study of the relationship between education and the state. If we bear in mind that what W. FRIJHOFF states (1) - namely, that deep features are common to the whole of Western Education in XIXth century - and include Latin America on this area, then we must first of all analyze the nature of the XIXth century Latin American states, in order to verify if the introduction of compulsory education has the same causes here as those detected in Europe.

From the typologies made up by A. GERSCHENKRON (2) to study European industrialization in the XIXth century, we will make use of two interesting criteria in our own analysis. As that author puts it, the greater the economic backwardness is in relationship to industrialized countries, the more the involvement of the government will grow in order to promote development and to put reforms into work, and the more decisive will be the role played by ideologies favouring some "faith in progress". We think both ideas can be fruitfully applied to the study of Latin American countries - which looked at the U.S. and Europe as models of development worth being followed - although industrialization did not develop there until the first third of the XXth century. In fact, at the end of the XIXth century we find, in Latin

American countries, a clearly involved state that, since Independence, had been taking on the reorganization of the recently-born republics; on the other hand, a significant influence of the positivist phylosophy - English or French - can also be described, which stresses an idea of progress being achieved, to a large extent, through education. Based on the state, which had taken on the educational function very soon (3), the positivist ideas and the patterns imported from the most advanced educational systems were put into use - hard resistance, such as that in Europe at the time, did not have to be faced. J. GRACIARENA emphasizes that the national state in Latin America forms an essential part of the machinery that promotes progress and contributes to the definition of the dominant style - even more than in other countries where capitalism first developed. This special feature provides the state with some autonomy in deciding its policies (4).

On the other hand, the rupture brought about by the Independence process facilitated the end put to the educational monopoly held by the Church during the colonial age. From the very moment of Independence, the composition of the Latin American clergy and also the relationship to the political power, radically changed. Leaving out some areas in which the Church still enjoyed a great amount of prestige among the people (Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador), it became generally impoverished and dependant on the political power. Even its links to the Vatican disappeared for a long time. The above mentioned rupture of the monopolistic nature of education is precisely what enables the state educational systems to be born, as M. ARCHER says (5). In her own terms shall we say, bearing in mind the interventionist character of the state, that educational systems in Latin America have come into being by *restriction* (6), that is, through using the state legislative machinery to devalue the monopoly and replace educational facilities. This is attained by means of the political authority mobilizing the necessary resources, therefore incorporating education into the political realm. Educational systems develop *centrifugally* (7), starting from governmental initiatives. Features such as *unification and systematization* prevail. In other words, they are systems with a strong internal structure, where goals are outlined and coordinated, both intensively and extensively, from a unified administrative framework. In general, the resources required in this sort of centralized systems make it necessary that the institutions and means inherited from the antecedent period - that is, previously belonging to the Church - be relied on, though put under new controlled conditions. Consequently, the private sector does not thus achieve much autonomy, and faces troubles to express its unrest (8).

Another aspect must be stressed in order to understand the pecularities of the state in the XIXth century Latin American countries. The institutional void caused by Independence was meant to be filled with the adoption of the European concept of the liberal state. But the interventionist attitude of the Latin American state prevented the arising of state and society as different systems, in the way the classic postulates of the liberal state understand it. On the other hand, the social composition inherited from the colonial period, where structural elements of a different qualitative nature coexisted (i.e. castes, classes, estates and so on) prevented the structuralisation of a clearly defined social body. This, and the absence of a differential character of society against the state, troubles the creation of nationality. Although patriotism, worship of independence heroes and so on are unquestionably present, there is no parallel access of all the social groups to the cultural community (a community of material and cultural goods, in the sense given to the term by O. Bauer and H. Heller). The latter, however, is required for the development of the nation (9). For that reason , as M. HERNANDEZ SANCHEZ-BARBA puts it (10), democracy becomes a myth which easily results in anarchy and, afterwards, totalitarism. From what has been said, a conclusion should be drawn: there is a basic difference between the state-education relationship in Latin America and Europe. In the European development, a gradual approach is discovered of the society to the state, and throughout this process, the idea of the nation becomes deeply fixed in society (11). In Latin America, by contrast, the approach happens a priori, without an articulation of the different social groups to the national community. As a result, unitary educational systems are devised by the state for a society which is far from being so. Consequently, their introduction will face great difficulties. However, at the same time education will become - more persistently than in Europe - an instrument to attain national integration and draw the line between state and society (12).

So far, hypotheses have been put forward concerning the special features of the state configurations in Latin America during the XIXth century. They persuade us to admit that *political factors prevail in the starting up of educational systems in the* countries studied, therefore in the introduction of compulsory education. Political factors, more than economic determinants, have influenced the organization of public education, as has been made clear by many historians of education and of the XIXth century European industrialization process. Moreover, as D.S. LANDES says, the relationship between formal education and industrial development is more direct, and apparent, on secondary and higher levels than on elementary ones - precisely where compulsory schooling is introduced (13). In this sense, the relative autonomy of the educational, in the face of the economic system, is what allows comparable educational systems to arise in societies with a different level of industrialization, such as happens in Latin American countries and their European and U.S. models (14). There is no other way to understand how the principles of European public education could be applied to societies which, from an economic point of view, lagged far behind - with their own industrialization uninitiated. The latter, however, does not contradict the fact that, in the political realm, what is finally aimed at consists of integration into the international capitalist system. Marxist sociologist T. VASCONI so recognizes it, when he declares that "Latin American education... shows a remarkable degree of autonomy against the particular conditions of the productive apparatus functioning - and consequently, its concrete requirements... It is not that education be entirely independent against the economic base of the social formations in Latin America. Rather, the structural features... belonging to that base produce in that region a kind of economic functioning, and of social formations, which minimizes the role of the educational apparatus in its function of providing human resources. Productive forces and education are only related in a very mediated process, through other instances of social formations, special *politics*... The processes of 'national political organization' (from about 1850), i.e., of organization of the national states, turned the educational apparatuses into paramount devices for 'national integration' and the struggle of 'civilization' ('europeanization') against 'barbarism'. This was particularly apparent in those countries where... the dominant class... held an unambiguous project of integration into the developing international capitalist system..." (15). At the end of the XIXth century, utilitarian-oriented positivism brings to Latin America thoughts about the topic "economy-education". Nevertheless, this takes place only inside an ideological sphere, and in a diffuse way (faith in progress), that is, as a characteristic sign of backward societies (in the sense by A. Gerschenkron above mentioned), and conveying no real nor direct relationship between the productive system and public education. As S. FINKEL puts it, referring to the Argentinian case: "the educational system becomes structured as a consequence of modernization without development" (16).

From the point of view of the theories of modernization, what has just been stated is a basis for our suggesting a pattern for analyzing the educational policies in Latin America in their relation to the processes of national states taking shape. These are consolidated, to a certain extent, during the last third of the XIXth century - at the time its educational systems are being organized. We will begin by saying that the chief element of the XIXth century educational policies was public instruction understood as an ethic and political seeking for consensus about the hegemony requirements of the state in its forming process.

In order to make up our own patterns of analysis, we have made use of P. FLORA's for comparatively analyzing the relationship between education and the development of the state and the nation during the XIXth century (the pattern is based on the U.S. functionalist theories regarding political modernization) (17). Flora starts from the development problems over that process of modernization, which are grouped as follows:

a) Development of the state: problems over *penetrating* society and *integrating* the different social sections.

b) Development of the nation: problems over national *identity* and power *legitimation*.

c) Consolidation of the system: problems over political *participation*, and others stemming from the growing role of the state as *distributing* material goods and values.

These problems are thereafter analyzed in relation to "corresponding" ones in other areas of the social system, such as the educational one. The development of the state gives cause for the creation and unification of the educational system; the identity and legitimacy that make it possible for the nation to develop are meant to be attained by political socialization through educational institutions; and the consolidation of the system matches the widening and levelling out of the educational opportunities - a reflection of the problems over political participation and distribution of material goods and values.

In this pattern, the introduction of compulsory schooling is included in the two first elements of political modernization, i.e., the development of the state and the development of the nation.

a) Development of the state: The problems over state *penetration* are such as setting up a national bureaucracy to take on areas of activity, mobilizate resources, create public order and so on. Among that, a trend appears in the educational field towards creating taxes to finance schools and pay teachers, widen the compulsory elementary education, organize a school bureaucracy and so on. Regarding the problems over *integration* (rules which make equality possible in the access to and distribution of functions, values and resources for different political and/or cultural sections of society), they are reflected in the educational field through the creation of ways of access to education allowing equality of opportunities, as well as through the unification and regulation of the different kinds of schools.

b) Development of the nation: Concerning the relationship between the introduction of compulsory education and the development of the nation, it is to be said that the latter comes down to the need for achieving, through educational methods and contents, *political socialization*, which is defined as creating among the citizens a conciousness of their belonging to the national community, promoting loyalty and trust on political institutions, and safeguarding the law and regulations (problems of *identity* and *legitimacy*).

c) Consolidation of the system: The consolidation of the educational system is produced on a compulsory schooling basis, which has been achieved in the former stages. For this reason, we will not go into further details here. Throughout the process towards the consolidation of the system, the *penetration* by the state becomes a basis for political *participation*, and the principle of "right to education" takes the place of that of "compulsory schooling". On the other hand, the problems over *integration* become problems over *distribution*, that is to say, "horizontal" integration of diverse groups (political, regional, ethnic, etc.) into a unified educational system, changes into "vertical" integration - permeability of the system in the face of the different classes or genders, which appears when secondary and higher levels widen.

By making use of this pattern of analysis, and taking into account the previously explained interventionist nature of the Latin American state, the relationship between the trend towards the *penetration* of the state into different social spheres and the compulsory education does become apparent. Regarding *integration*, the diminished role of the Church in most countries after independence has already been pointed out. This means a first step towards social integration. Nevertheless, the level of integration of the very different social groups inherited from the colonial age, and also the chance of setting up in that society a unified and compulsory educational system guaranteeing equality of opportunities, are yet to be analyzed. On the other hand, education was also considered as a device of *political socialization* for achieving national *identity* and power *legitimation*. Trough educational content and methods, patriotism and hero worship were spread, the republican principles popularized, new political institutions were generally made known and so on.

To sum up, compulsory education must be analyzed in its relation to the setting up of a unified educational system, and to the political socialization carried out through it. These factors match the problems over penetration and integration of the state developing, as well as the identity and legitimacy factors which make it possible for a national community to exist. In the Latin American case, the problem over integration of society appears the most conflicting and critical, for a dissociation is produced between a troublesome social integration and the principles of unification and equality, which base both compulsory education and the transmission of values through political socialization. The unification and equality that compulsory schooling conveys does not immediately nor necessarily lead to an integration of the national community. For this reason, the ability of the state to integrate, by other means, the different social groups into the same political community must also be analyzed in each case. On this ability will depend the chance to eliminate the "dischrony" where the educational system is situated in relation to society (18).

NOTES

(1) W. FRIJHOFF (ed.): *L'offre d'école. The Supply of Schooling*, Paris, 1983, pp. 5-11.

(2) A. GERSCHENKRON: *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*, Cambridge, Mass., 1962. See also P. LUNDGREEN: *Bildung und Wirtschaftswachstum im Industrialisierungsprozess des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1973, pp. 36-66.

(3) About the education in the Constitutions of the Latin American countries at the beginning of XIXth century, see L.B. PRIETO FIGUEROA: *El Estado y la educación en América Latina*, Caracas, 1980 (3rd ed.), pp. 107-117.

(4) J. GRACIARENA: "Poder y estilos de desarrollo. Una perspectiva heterodoxa", in: *Revista de la CEPAL* (Primer semestre 1976), p. 190.

(5) M. ARCHER: *Social origins of educational systems*, London and Beverly Hills, 1979, pp. 43 and 59-60.

(6) Ibidem, pp. 146-157.

(7) Ibidem, p. 161.

(8) Ibidem, pp. 174-178 and 199-208.

(9) M. GARCIA-PELAYO: *Las transformaciones del Estado contemporáneo*, Madrid, 1977, pp. 40-46.

(10) M. HERNANDEZ SANCHEZ-BARBA: *Historia de América (Vol. III)*, Madrid, 1981, p. 313.

(11) M. GARCIA-PELAYO: *op. cit.*, pp. 21-25 and 110-117.

(12) What has so far been said concerning the differences between Latin American and European states in the XIXth century shows that, although concepts and instruments designed for analyzing European history are needed to undestand the Latin American in the same period -when exogen factors played such a central role- its application reveals at the same time the "dischronic" (as G. SORIANO defines it) nature of the Latin American course of events, which leads to the "coexistence, or living together, of structures or structural elements of different historical level, not "synchronic" or contemporaneous, not arising in consonance or disonance with the rest of the historical reality of a time. This is specially due to the internal features of an historic process mainly born of transculturation and to the continuous incidence of 'external causality' See G. SORIANO: "Esquemas de interpretación para la historia política de Hispanoamérica", in: *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , 25 (1982), p. 37.

(13) D.S. LANDES: *The Unbound Prometheus*, Cambridge, 1969. We have used the Spanish version *Progreso tecnológico y revolución industrial*, Madrid, 1979 p. 368.

(14) See F.K. RINGER: *Education and Society in Modern Europe*, Bloomington and London, 1979, p. 5.

(15) T. VASCONI: "Ideología, lucha de clases y aparatos educativos en el desarrollo de América Latina", in: G. LABARCA et al.: *La educación burguesa*, Mexico, 1977, pp. 174-177.

(16) S. FINKEL: "La clase media como beneficiaria de la expansión del sistema educacional argentino - 1880/1930", in: G. LABARCA et al.: *op. cit.*, p. 132.

(17) P. FLORA: "Die Bildungsentwicklung im Prozess der Staaten- und Nationenbildung. Eine vergleichende Analyse", in: *Koelner Zeitschrift fuer Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Sonderheft 16 (1973), pp. 294-319.

(18) About the concept of "dischrony", see note 12.

SUMMARY

This paper takes some ideas to work out a theoretical pattern of analysis of the introduction of compulsory schooling into Latin American countries towards the end of the XIXth century. The pattern is understood as a device which, though taking into account the parallels, or even the unity, among the different Latin American countries, at the same time will contribute, by means of its application to each national case, towards a study in comparative history.

Speaking about compulsory education requires a study of the relationship between education and the state. If we bear in mind what W. FRIJHOFF states -namely, that deep features are common to the whole of Western education in the XIXth century- and include Latin America on this area, then we must first of all analyze the nature of the XIXth century Latin American state, in order to verify if the introduction of compulsory education has the same causes here as those detected in Europe.

Different aspects of the development of the Latin American states are analyzed, which allow to admit the existence of a clearly interventionist state which put into practice the patterns imported from the most advanced educational systems during this time. Hard resistance, such as that in Europe at the time, did not have to be faced. Apparently, *political* factors prevail in the starting up of educational systems in the countries studied, therefore in the introduction of compulsory education. The relative autonomy of the educational, in the face of the economic system, is what allows comparable educational systems to arise in societies with a different level of industrialization, such as happens in Latin American countries and their European and U.S. models.

From the point of view of the theories of modernization, what has just been stated is a basis for our suggesting a pattern for analyzing the educational policies in Latin America in their relation to the processes of national states taking shape. Compulsory education must be analyzed in its relation to the setting up of a unified educational system, and to the political socialization carried out through it. These factors match the problems over penetration and integration of the state developing, as well as the identity and legitimacy factors which make it possible for a national community to exist. In the Latin American case, the problem over integration of society appears the most conflicting and critical, for a dissociation is produced between a troublesome social integration and the principles of unification and equality, which base both compulsory education and the transmission of values through political socialization. The unification and equality that compulsory schooling conveys does not immediately nor necessarily lead to an integration of the national community. For this reason, the ability of the state to integrate, by other means, the different social groups into the same political community must also be analyzed in each case.

THE COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION (1910-1924)

Renate Marsiske

The idea of establishing compulsory education in Mexico began in 1810 with the projects of a new legislation developed after the declaration of Independence; projects which where at the same time defining politically the new independent Nation. As early as 1823 it was proposed that "every mexican at the age of 7 should be obligated to study, at the expense of the Nacion".[1] Nevertheless since the education in Mexico depended upon municipal and state governments it wasn't until 1875 when primary education became obligatory in all of the states of the Federation. Nevertheless these legal precepts could not become a reality because for the governments preceeding the Revolution of 1910, the education and schooling of all mexicans had not been a national priority.

In 1910, when the Revolution began, México's total population was of 15,160,369; of these, 12 million did not know how to read or to write, this figure represents almost 85% of the population and in rural areas the porcentage was even larger.

During the years of civil war, that is up to 1920 the educational problems continued, due to the small number of schools, to the concentration of schools in urban areas and due to other problems such as the cuality of the education and other problems concerning administrative and economic aspects. Private schools where held mostly by the catholic church, as it had been in the past centuries. There was true anarchy in relation to the text books utilized in the different schools, with respect to the educational programs and on the whole concerning the way they functioned. The State and municipal governments faced serious economic problems[2], which made it hard for them to operate and on the other hand during these years of upheaval teachers strikes were frecuent, due to low salaries.

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[1] Silva Herzog, Jesús: El pensamiento económico, social y político de México 1810-1864. México, 1967, p.67. (The translation is mine).

With the promulgation of the Constitution of 1917, now a days still in use, the construction period of the Mexican Revolution began. The 3rd article of the Constitution refers to education, article 27 refers to land and agrarian problems while article 123 refers to labor policies, these three aricles represent the bases from which the new revolutionary ideology sprang. The new legislation became the center of the ideological system in formation because through the legislation given we can find the ends persued by the revolucionaries and the contents of their ideology.[3]

It has been an ideal legal precept which reflected the political, economic and social aspirations of the revolution,

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2. Between 1910 and 1920 many schools were closed because of the lack of economic financing.

3. Taboada, Eva Lucía: El proyecto cultural y educativo del estado mexicano: 1920-1940. Tesis de maestría. DIE del IPN, México, 1982.

even thow, the ideas contained did not reflect the mexican reality. The 3rd article of the constitution determined that elementary education in Mexico had to be compulsory, free and laic and that the municipal, State and National governments were responsable of caring out this task. This article also became the legal base for a new ideological confrontation against the Church, for the church had become one of the most important ideological segements of the ancien regime. The imposition of laicism, along with the fact that the clergy was forbidden to establish schools[4], meant that the action of the Church was being limited and it's influence restricted. Elementary education therefore became primarly a responsability of the State authorities and they had the obligation to see that the new policies where being carried out.

In 1920 when General Alvaro Obregón's government began and José Vasconcelos was appointed in charged of the education in Mexico, first, as dean of the National University and later as minister of Public Education, the educational system began to be reformed. "Vasconcelos saw with great clarity the problem of the mexicans, in it's multiple aspects: education for the indians, so to asimilate the marginal population; rural education to increase the standards of living; technical education to higher urban standards; creation of libraries; publication of popular texts, difussion of culture".[5]

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[4] This determination created a great discussion and conflict between the State and the Catholic Church in the subsequent years. The schools helded by the Church today, even thou unconstitutional, represent a large porcentage of the private schools in Mexico. Nevertheless they are tolerated by the State.

Vasconcelos became the promotor of an great educational crusade, he estimulated all the mexicans that knew how to read and write to participate in the campaigns orientated to eliminate iliteracy; the sesions where not held only in the schools, but also plazas, streets and other improvized locations were used.

His major succes was to have created a federal educational system which he did by establishing the Ministry of Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública) which was responsable of coordinating all the educational activities of the country and at the same time this system had the authority to establish schools within the entire national territory. The new Ministry was fiven an ample budjet to work with, therefore libraries, rural and urban schools for the preparation of teachers, cultural missions, regional agricultural schools, schools for the education of the indians, schools of elementary education, night schools for workers and farmers, etc. were established, integrating a network of educational institutions all over the nation

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5. Vázquez, Josefina: Nacionalismo y educación en México. El Colegio de México, México, 1970, p.157.

The activities of the Ministry of Education gave birth to the development of a federal educational system which attended to the deficient rural educational institutions. The government slowly was able to take responsability and to attend the educational needs of the vast population which in the past had been left in hands of the church.

The educational institutions were used as a political instrument by the postrevolutionary governments by means of propaganda and also by means to outspread the revolutionary ideology among the different social classes. This was especially important in the rural areas were the state did not have other institutions and were at the same time the social and political problems were more grave. Therefore the schools set up by the government acted as a counterbalance with respect to the church and local caciques.

The educational projects put forth by José Vasconcelos, Moisés Sáenz during Plutarco Elías Calles government, and by Narciso Bassols who was a promotor of socialist education in the thirties, were aimed to adjust the differences in custom, habits, values, and in the ways of thinking and feeling. They believed that the existence of a community integrated in languaje and culture, would contribute to the formation of a national identity, a necessary requisite for the conservation of Mexico as an independent nation.

From then on the mexican state intensified it's position as coordinator and as promotor of the economy and the government impeled the creation of a complex superstructure. Elementary education therefore was used as a political instrument to strenghten the Mexican Revolution and it was also used to incorporate the population in the process of industrialization. The 3rd article of the Constitution has been a goal to meet for every postrevolutionary government that is that every mexican could aspire to receive an elementary education, laic and free.[6]

SUMMARY

The idea of establishing compulsory education in Mexico began in 1810 with the projects of a new legislation for the recently independent nation, but it wasn't until 1875 when primary education became obligatory in almost all states of the mexican federation. Nevertheless, it is with the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) and the promulgation of the new constitution (1917) when compulsory education as ideological support for the creation of a national identity becames the center of interest of the mexican government. With José Vasconcelos, between 1920 and 1924, began the reformation of the mexican educational system which includes a compulsary education free and laic for 6 years coordinated and supervised by the Federal Ministry of Education, a creation of Vasconcelos.

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6. A few years ago the minister of Public Education, Fernando Solana, stated publicly that the time had arrived so that no child had been left without elementary school; that is that there was a sufficient number of schools and teachers for all the children in the ages corresponding to primary.

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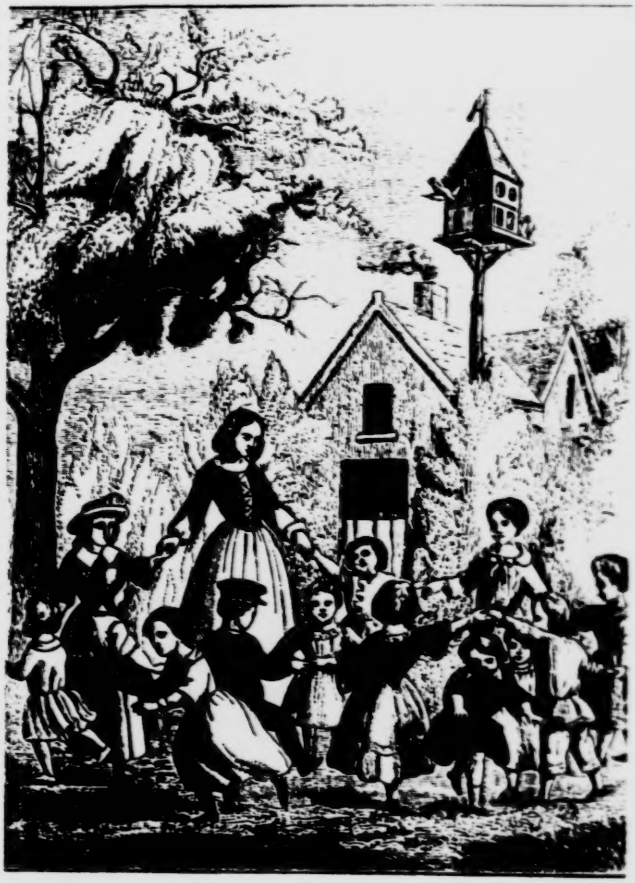

«*La colombaia*» è il titolo di questo «Gioco ginnastico», nel quale i bambini imitano i movimenti dei colombi.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN POLAND

Jan Hellwig

The notion of school going obligation is determinated as law establishment treating the sphere of education of children and young people which is done country is recognizing as indispensable to the life in one society.This appointment demands that the children obtaining the school maturity would go to adequate schools destinated for them,and the state authorities and territorial authorities have to assure them the possibilities and the conditions for every child to be educated until the time of having finished the school going obligation.

The notion of school compulsory is connected with the idea of democratization of social life,including there also the democratization of education and in its,with the practical realization of educational system.

Thies process in the larger extension is due to the final phase of epoch of Enlightenment,and particularly to the beginning of XIX century.The schools existing in that time were divided in the elementary schools with tendances to the enlargement and extension of the educational sphere,and its temporary cadres,the schools assuring the higher extension of general education,it means,the secondary schools of general education of different types preparing to the University studies and also the professional school preparing to the creative work.

Those schools fulfilled from the social and educational point of view,the differentiated tasks and duties.Although all those schools served to educate the young generation. Those schools treated its educational functions in the manner different and realized different models of education, those differences were resulting from the fact, that the aims and purposes of education showed and reflected the composed classed structure of cotemporary societies by the regular custom time-honoured. The distinctive mark of educational system in own early stage of developpment was therefore a sectional structure. Each element of this system and now well for example: elementary school, secondary school or professional school, institute a separated and classified unity isolated exclusive functionning without any connection with other elements of educational system. The elementary schools, beginners brought into general use and diffused the elementary education and on the contrary, the professional schools had the limited utilitary aims and purposes and prepared to the production and manufactures, the secondary schools however, indicated principally the roads to the University studies[1].

Near the half of XIX century, there follows the overcoming sectional structure of education and undertakes the efforts toward the formation of homogeneous educational system which could assure since a long time, the proposed by the education and educationnists, postulates and demands to introduce a school obligation. This process was not passed not even suddenly, not even quickly and was differentiated in diffrent countries, being the reflection of general system of forces and of social and political relations.

Since the end of XVIII century until our epoch, in important number of countries, there was established in the world - school obligation duty. At the beginning, it contained the extension of elementary education limiting generally to the elementary knowledge of reading,writing and count/calculation/.

The undertaking of study at superior level of education was voluntary and spontaneous and oftem made difficult.

In Polish territory there were,in this domain,a partucalar difficulty and pains because at the end of XVIII century,during all period of XIX century and during the first years of XX century, Poland has lost the independance and was invaded and occupied by three powers invasors,it means by Austria,Russia and Prussia which had its own educational politics destinated often against the Polishmen.

In the part of Poland invaded and occupied by the Austria there was introduced in year 1895 the compulsory of general elementary eduaction but it was only apparent and was not realized and executed.

In Prussia,in the schools serving for the aims and purposes germanisation/with German language of teaching/ there was the school going obligation for the children aged from 6 to 13 years of their life since the beginning of XIX century but its realization was insufficient.

In the domain of universality of teaching education the most low level there was in Russia of tzares where,principally was not introduced any school going obligation,therefore,in the territories of ancient occupation tzarist,it means,in the so-called kingdom of Poland only a little part of children was included to the staying at very low level,basic education.

Therefore,principally the school compulsory in Poland was introduced after having finished the First World War and after having obtained the independance by Poland.One of the first legislative acts in the domain of the educational system in Poland independent was a decree promulgued on the seventh of February 1919 introducing the school going obligation,which has established that the education in the domain of seven classes primary public school is obligatory.This decree was a expression of progressive victory of the trend in the domain of educational system,was a success of Polish progressive democratical forces, but alas,it did not assure the practical universality of educational teaching.The teaching instruction in the school of seven classes was realized as organization of full school of seven classes, and it was effectuated with a resistance very great.

The new school legislation during the period between Two World Wars/and particularly the law concerning the school structure dated on the 11 tn of March 1932 year/ did not conduce until beginning of the Second World War to full realization of school obligation.

The school compulsory during the period between Two World Wars was realized only in part yet during school-year of 1937/38 more than half million,it means 10 % of all children aged from seven to thirteen years were not,in general registered or immatriculated in the elementary school and more important part of going pupils to school was educated only in the schools lowly organized/with the classes from I to IV/ without garantee assuring the necessary preparation to life and to study in secondary school.It was concerning partycularly the provinces and villages where active justly those schools lowerly organized and the schools with seven classes of education were rare in that environment.

The state authorities did not react positively on the presented to them by the so-called "Teachers'Seym-Parliament" in 1919,the progressive projects of education between others by Władysław Radwan,Władysław Spasowski or,by Antoni Bolesław Dobrowolski.

The inherited from one part after the invasors,dualism of educatin school system/two separated ways or manners of formation teaching : massive gratuitous and exclusive selectional-payable/and the politicsof contemporary authorities have influcenced considerably the problem of realization of school obligation during the period between two World Wars.

The most difficult situation was formed the hitlerian occupation, when in the territory included to the Reaich,there were liquidated all schools destinated for Polish youth and on other territory in so-called General Governament,there were left only the polish primary or elementary schools which partly could realize the programe of general education.

In consequence of such situation,the children obliged to go to school from the years of period of the war was not included by the school obligation.

The Polish teachers full of sacrifices and educational activities tried to replace it by the secret teaching and education in spite of the threating for them severe punishment such as the exiles and the depotations to the camps of concentration and extermination and death penalty for their participation in the lessons and for that teaching.

Teh extension of school compulsory for all children and in important part of youth and the fighting against the analphabetism became the principal task of educational system politics in the Polish People's Republic. Thanks to the organization of the dense network system of primary seven classes schools, almost nearly all children have obtained the possibilities of bein tought in their place of residence and domicile and of finishing of full obligatory primary school. This practice was gradually introduced. The realization of school obligation for example during the school years 1949/50, 1954/55, 1955/56 obtained adequatly: 96,%, 97,6% and 97,9 %.[2]

In 1961 year, in connection with the reform of primary school educational system was established the school obligation of eight years. In the same time the state authorities have created the possibilities of prolongation of this obligation in certain regions of country which had shown in this domain the particular necessities and needs and had the conveneint possibilities. It concerned regards for example to the capital town of Warsaw where was introduced the school obligation until 18 years of life. The realization of school compulsory was connected with the introduction into the life, of the principles of democratization of the school system. Ten years later after having introduced and put into the life, the mentionned above reform, the 96,3 % of children in the town and 93 ,0% in the villages have the garanted possibilities of finishing of eight-classes or eight yeers of leanrning primory school. During that time wene introdeced and applied the different tentative trials in the field of perfectionning of the realization of school obligation and of the modernization of teaching educational process.

After 1970 year was prepared a report[3] by experts concerning the state education in Poland and accepting partly the contained there principly,and there war acceded to prepare a successive school reform whose aims and purpose would have to be the realization of universal education at the middle level.There undertaken the farly advanced works but its were not justly coordinated.The introduction of ten years studies or classes school retarded and deleyed many times at last,finally there was come the crisis at the beginning of years 80 and there was stopped its realization.

Actually,in continuation is obligatory in Poland the 8 years teaching in primary school for the children in age frm 7 to 15 years, with remarks that more than 50 % of children are taken under the protection of preschool care and also near 90 % of schoolleaving pupils of 8 classes primary school is continuing the studies in the professional schools and in the secondary professional schools and in general education schools.

Nevertheless the authorities did not resign yet totally from the thought of futur reformation and reforms of Polishe educational system and centralized actually its efforts to modernize the programmes of education.

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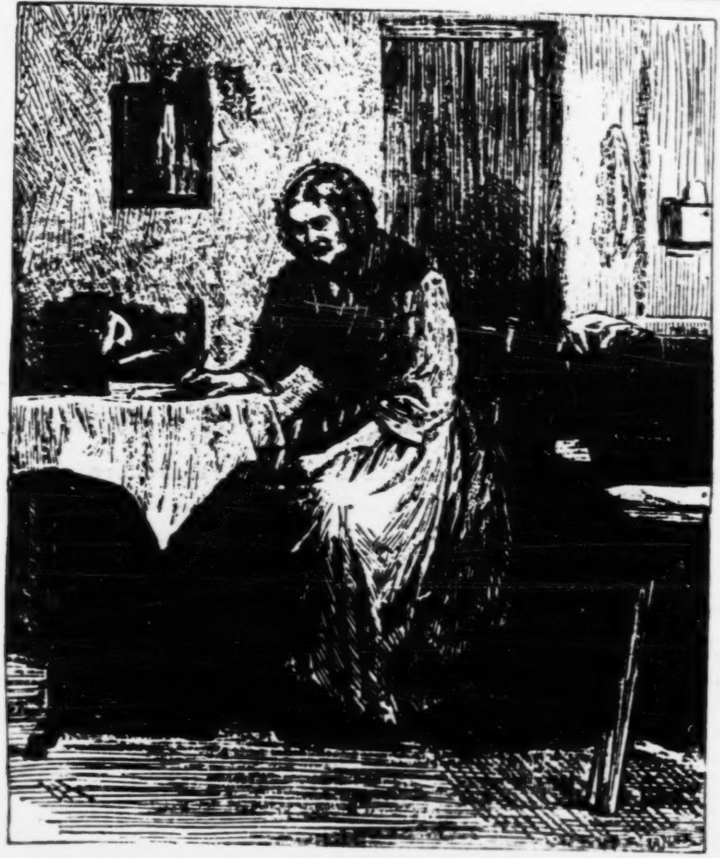
ANNO XIV. N.° 10. OTTOBRE 1883

L'AMICO DEI FANCIULLI

GIORNALETTO ILLUSTRATO



LA VECCHIA NONNA.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF INTRODUCING COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE CZECH LANDS

Dagmar Capková

The Introduction of compulsory education is usually linked up with a desintegration, decay of feudalism and with the rise of bourgeoisie.

In previous history the example of the Czech Reformation with a popular movement against feudal powers at the outset of the XVth century resulted in accelerated progress in literacy at a popular level. Against this historical background and against the background od devastation produced by the Thirty Years War J.A. Comenius /Komenský, 1592-1670/ elaborated his pansophic system of universal lifelong education of everybody and considered it a human right and duty.

Let us recall that, according to Comenius, systematic education should start as early as in the first six years of child's age in the family /including a suggestion of a collective education of pre-school children at the age between 5-6 years/. It ought to continue in formal schools starting with the basic elementary vernacular school /between the age of 6-12/, secondary school /between 12-18/, higher schools /between 18-24/,and in the subsequent informal "schools of life" - the school of viril age, the school of old age and of death.

These ideas could not be influential in his native country. Contrary to the victorious struggle of the United Netherlands against the Spanish Habsburgs, the Protestant Bohemian estates in their fight against the Austrian Habsburg dynasty were defeated in 1620, at the outset of the Thirty Years War. The Czech kingdom lost its independence; Bohemia and Moravia became an Austrian province and suffered from depopulation and pauperisation. The consequence of the Habsburg re-catholising policy was, apart of executions, a vast exile entailing the loss of the progressive Czech middle class and intelligentsia /including Comenius/. The country people was not allowed to leave the country and the serfdom was hardened by the new landlords. The well developed Czech Reformation schooling was destroyed in Bohemia and Moravia. Village schools almost dissapeared, education declined. The Jesuits dominated schools and culture for more than 200 years. Their educational theory and practice maintained the Catholic Church and the feudal system. It was adversary not only to social progress, general literacy but also to national development.

In 1773 when the Jesuit order was abolished also in the Austian Empire - later than in Portugal, Spain and France - elementary school were rare; if any, they were very poor, without aids and trained teachers. Even in Vienna, in 1770, only a quarter of the number of the school age children attended school.

In the time when, e.g. in France,big manufactures were developed and the bourgeoisie grew in economic power to compete with the political power of the feudals and of the court, the Austrian Empire was backwarded in economic, military, administrative, educational respects etc. In France Adam Smith's contact with the encyclopaedists, the inspirations of Rousseau, the practical advocation of national education by de La Chalotais and Roland after the expulsion of the Jesuits from France - this all resulted in the feeling that there was a need of compulsory education under the State supervision and separated from the Church. After the temporary introduction of the unified compulsory school for the year 1793-1794 by the French revolution, in 1794 a bourgeois school system was introduced.

In Germany /Prussia/ economic development was accompanied by the Philanthropists´emphasizing the work for the benefit of mankind and for the need to improve the economic and social position of teachers. New school acts aimed at giving a solid basis for schooling /in 1743 for elementary schools/. So, in 1743, 400 schools were reorganized and 1200 new schools were established so that about 100.000 illiterate children were given a basic literacy. The idea of compulsory education was not new in Germany as it had been shown in 1619 in the Duchy of Weimar.

There were many educational projects and realization. Hecker´s reforms meant the origin of German Realschulen. Or, let us recall the attention payed by von Rochow to agricultural melioration and to adult education of the peasants, the projects of von Zedlitz for the foundation of schools and higher training of teachers. Prussia was the most successful land in establishing national system of education during the XVIIIth century including compulsory education /attendance/ and State supervision.

The changes that brought about improvement in education also in the Austrian State were linked up with the change of economic conditions. In the second half of the XVIIIth century, during the reign of Maria Theresa/1740-1780/ and Joseph II /1780-1790; but he had shared the reign much earlier, in fact/, manufactures increased in number and were established also by the government. Its endeavour was in agreement with the economic theory of mercantilism that a State grows the richer the greater is its export and the smaller its import. The new textil manufactures were developed namely in Bohemia. More people ought to work in the manufactures, therefore, they must be better trained and released from serfdom. A string of reforms was proposed. In 1774 compulsory school attendance was introduced, in 1781 the serfdom abolished and religious tolerance declared.

Economic reasons were connected with the Physiocrat trend of the Enlightenment and Philanthropism to assure a better living of poor people, to control beggars, vagabonds and vagrant children. The needs of production were met, however, at the cost of a terrible exploitation of the child labour. The school was class restricted.

The example how schools were reorganized also in Catholic Silesia and provided by the new school act in 1765, approved by the Prussian government, drew attention of the Austrian government. The successful activity of Joh. Ign. Felbiger /1724-1788/, a pupil of Rochow, in Sagan of Prussian Silesia, became known also in Austria. He was invited by Maria Theresa and elaborated A General School Plan for schooling in all lands of the Austrian Empire /Allgemeiner Schulplan für die deutschen Normal-, Haupt und Trivialschulen/ in 1774 and a Book on Methods /Methodenbuch/ in 1775, in 1777 translated into Czech. His General School Plan contained the requirement to introduce obligatory school attendance for all children and youth between the age of 6-12 years. It was legalized by the law 1774. Felbiger understood the interest of the government that school might contribute to economic development. He borrowed some elements for his Methodenbuch from Comenius, however, his concept was not so broadly humanitarian. Mass instruction and the method of using little tables with the quintessence of learning matter answered the situation of the lack of teachers and text-books. In comparison with Pestalozzi, e. g., who,apart of having tried to improve on the practice of the people, wanted to cultivate fundamental powers of the man in general, including the character, and to promote the whole mankind like Comenius, Felbiger followed mostly narrowly utilitarian goals. His table method became a formalistic mechanism in the hands of a bad teacher. Much of Felbiger's endeavour could not be realized due to the lack of good teachers and financial funds.

The first compulsory schools for mere economic needs of the first manufactures trained only in manual skills. Then elementary education, very simple reading, writing and counting,was added. With general compulsory education of 1774 elementary education was enriched by practical subjects. Apart of religion, reading, writing and counting agricultural economy, sewing, knitting etc. were taught in trivial schools established in countryside and different for boys and girls. In main schools, established in every district the curriculum contained also basic knowledge of geography, history, natural history, Latin, composition, drawing, economy and industry; this type of school prepared children for later military service, handicrafts, economy. The curriculum in normal schools was much more broadened and contained also teachers training.

Initially compulsory education, compulsory school attendance, was successful when connected with two ways of children and youth education: 1. They became labourers in manufactures for which they were trained in necessary handwork skills and in elementary education. 2. At new organized schools education was connected with training in useful labour /F. Kindermann/; here a defficiency was if the school labour did not contribute to local needs and different manual activities were trained, accepted from abroad.

Political reasons played a significant role, contradictory in the Czech lands. School reform aiming at compulsory school attendance was conceived as a political act and germanization of schools was introduced. While Maria Theresa began the school reform from the university level and feared the complete secularization of schooling suggested by Ant. of Pergen in 1770, Joseph II aimed at it and at State supervision of schools. He established the office of district commissioners, subordinated to district executive, who had to report on the state of buildings, on the school attendance of children, on the work of teachers, on their salaries, on educational methods and on proposals how to improve elementary school, to the land executive /"Gubernium"/. It is true, the elementary school remained class restricted but all poor children were set free from paying school fees. Compulsory school attendance was emphasized again in 1781 when district offices were given a full power to force it and punish negligent parents.

When having asserted the Prussian model of uniformity and German centralization in Austrian heterogenious Empire the basic mistake of the Austrian government was the lack of understanding for national differences and needs. Consequently the reform met with opposition with the non German nations - the Czechs, Slovenians, Hungarians a o. It advanced the Czech National Revival. At first, however, it retarded educational development and the realization of compulsory school attendance. Compulsory school attendance was successful with the Czech parents and only Czech speaking village teachers, poor and dependent on villages, if the Czech language was also allowed, initially as a means of translating German instruction and German literature. Nevertheless, soon, in Bohemia, in spite of the difficulties, the number of pupils rose six times during the period of 1774-1794. The secondary and higher schools, however, became German in the Czech lands and it lasted deep into the XIXth century. Nevertheless, the fundamental incentive for the school reform was the economic raise and this also contributed to the fact that the germanizing tendencies turned it in the Czech National Revival.

Austrian school regulations should also operate in the Hungarian kingdom of which Slovakia was a part. Hungary, much more backwarded in industrial and agricultural production got the school act in 1777 /Ratio educationis/ by which the State supervision over Catholic schools was legalized but not very effective due to repeating conflicts and struggles between the Hungarian estates and the Austrian Habsburg emperor. Hungarians / and also Slovaks/ were more liberal in religion, language, administration. Protestant schools developed there also during the XVIIth and XVIIIth cent. Ratio educationis of 1777 did not introduced compulsory education; as late as a new revised Ratio educationis, approved by the Emperor in 1805 for Catholic schools. Protestant schools which were much better in educational level were also reorganized and valuable Protestant educational literature produced by Slovak educational thinkers. In system and curriculum Protestant school were unified in 1842. When Latin stopped to be official language in Hungary and, as a weapon against germanizing tendencies the Hungarian Parliament asserted the Magyar language, the Slovaks suffered from magyarization, namely between 1867-1918.

To return to the Czech lands, here the period of the reactionary government abolished many results of Josephine reforms, e.g. the development of schools linked up with productive labour in school workshops. In the time /1803/ when in Prussia a religious tolerance opened the chances for the children to choose which religion to attend in lessons of public schools, in the Austrian Empire the Catholic Church did not stop to interfere and paralyse compulsory school attendance and achieve supervision over elementary schools and teachers.

In the XIXth century the endeavours to reform education in the Czech lands were a part of a bourgeois revolutionary struggle to break feudalism /1848/. The proposed reforms were linked up with adult education and with the whole national culture and covered almost all educational levels. They included the struggle for the right to use Czech in secondary and higher education. The national and political conflicts went very far. The bourgeois school act of 1869, very good and progressive, elaborated in Vienna, creating a new system including compulsory school attendance at the age of 6-14, had been opposed. The Czech bourgeoisie and people protested in mass meetings against the oppression and did not believe in the fulfilment of anything promised by Vienna. However, this opposition caused retarded establishing of town schools for the age between 11-14. The realization of the new school system which,with some amendments,lasted then until 1948,was not easy.

Conclusions.

Economic and social factors play a decisive role in compulsory education. For the introduction of compulsory school attendance in the Czech lands moves to meet economic needs were very significant. Apart of the economic need it is necessary to consider many social factors, ideological /religious/, political, national, personell etc. and also traditional. Contradictions in the interrelation of quoted factors caused obstacles in the effectivity of compulsory school attendance and of education in general. Education cannot be successful with any sort of oppression,or, at the condition when the curriculum of schools has been alineated to local needs and life, to the development of both personality and society. From the historical context it is evident that,in Europe, the time, ways and level of the introduction of compulsory school attendance is linked up with the process of constituting bourgeois society.

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RESUME

Cette contribution montre l´importance des conditions économique /l´évolution des manufactures/ concernant l´introduction du charactère obligatoire de l´éducation élementaire en pays tchèques dans la deusième moitié du XVIII^{e} siècle /1774/. La durée de l´éducation obligatoire était de six ans jusqu´à l´âge de douze ans. Pour empêcher l´abolition de l´éducation obligatoire par l´Église Catholique - l´inspection de l´école par l´État était introdui.

Les autres facteurs opéraient: les facteurs traditionnels, idéologiques, politiques, nationals etc. La politique éducative de l´Empire autrichien devint un instrument de la germanisation linguistique et culturelle. La résistance et l´opposition populaire des Tchèques trouvait son expression nationale, politique et culturelle dans la Renaissance Nationale /1774-1848/. Les contradictions politiques et sociales entre le régime autrichien et les Tchèques et leur lutte pour l´école nationale faisait le développment très compliqué.

THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION OF POLAND AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION (TO 1918)

Lech Mokrzecki

Efforts to introduce compulsory education in Poland are strictly connected with the aims to universalize education in the particular periods of history. The final regulation took place in the XX century only, after the regaining by Poland, of her independence in 1918, but the earlier stages embracing the period prior to the partitioning and that during the annexation should also be characterized, however. As in known, after 1795, the lands of the Polish Republic became composite parts of Prussia, Russia and Austria. The organizational solutions concerning education thus differed in the particular regions, depending on the policies of the annexing states in respect of the Polish population.

Interest in the problems of universalizing of education first arose, in Poland, during the Renaissance, as towards the close of the XV century, thanks to the moderately wealthy gentry gaining considerable influence on the government's domestic policies, their aims to expand the network of schools and enrich their knowledge intensified. It was also the desire of the townsfolk and peasants to gain easier access to schools, seeing in this the possibility of social improvement and preferment to higher ecclesiastical and secular offices.

In the XVI century a distinct economic growth was noted in Poland, the ares cultivated under grain increased, as did the population and there was an improvement in the situation of the towns. The opening up of new market outlets for agricultural goods affected the development of the gentry's granges and efforts to obtain additional man power. This consisted in increasing the amount of unpaid labour to be done by the peasants and thus binding them with stronger thies to the soil (glebae adscripti), which also meant restricting the personal freedom. After 1496, access to schools for the children of peasants was impeded, only son being permitted to attend - and that only until the age of 12. As a result, additional obstacles were created for preferment or occupying of higher positions by those of peasant origin, such posts being reserved for the gentry.

The favourable situation in agriculture lasted until the first half of the XVII century. The network of towns and their economic importance increased rapidly in Poland. A substantial part of the income was designed for the needs of the newly--established schools. Catholic and protestant denominational schools: parish, secondary (colleges and grammar), academic grammar schools and those of university level - all of high standard - were established. The increase in the numbers of educated people influenced the development of learning on the one hand, and on the other - the radicalization of social opinions and postulates concerning state reforms, including those of the education system.

The demands on education increased in the the XVII century. The gentry and townsfolk demanded an increase in the number of schools, modernization of curriculum, the introduction of new subjects. A substantial part of the gentry continued to be educated at home or on the estates of the magnates, supplementing their knowledge abroad, later. In the towns, on the other hand, private schools of a vocational profile were established.

Intellectuals postulated the modernization of grain cultivation methods, expansion of investment activities, development of mines (salt mines in particular), and stock-breeding centres. Unfortunately, as the result of the wars with Sweden, there was a substantial demographic regress. The population fell by about 30% in the years 1650-1700. War damage, natural calamities, caused a decline in agriculture, slowing down of trade and impoverishment of the towns. The defective production system based on the labour of unpaid peasants did not favour an increase in output. Poor harvests went hand-in-hand with the general European drop in the price of grain. Under such conditions, there was a further concentration of the great latifundia, their owners also gaining tremendous influence on the ruling of the state. The introduction of the principle of unanimity (liberum veto) in the "sejm" (parliament), led to their breaking up and prevented the fulfilment of reforms in the system.

The wars of the first half of the XVIII century facilitated the intervention of foreign powers in Poland's internal affairs. The views of the XVIII-century gentry were pacifistic and antimilitarist, the armed forces were solely of a defensive character. Wars were being waged on Polish soil, in which Poland herself did not formally participate. The situation in agriculture improved after 1730, but the increased wealth concerned primarily the magnates and gentry, not the peasants and townsfolk. The existing social system enabled the establishing of increasing numbers of workshops by the magnates, based on cheap labour.

The successive stage of development and reforms took place in education in Poland from the middle of the XVIII century. At the beginning of the century, education was in a state of stagnation, apart from a few exceptions, in particular, in Royal Prussia (Gdańsk, Toruń, Elbląg, Chełmno). The first to begin reforming their colleges was Piarist Order, drawing up an educational programme which was to illustrate to the pupils the faults in the relations existing in Poland and how to improve them.

Of tremendous significance was the calling into being of the National Education Commission in 1773, which carried out an overall reform of the education system in Poland in successive years, and placed emphasis on the development of parish (primary) schools. Modern curricula and text-books were introduced, the organization of education was changed, the system of training teachers was improved. Material means were derived from the property of the dissolved Jesuit Order. The regulations of the National Education Commission, issued in 1783, proclaimed the need to establish schools in small towns and villages, for the purpose of educating the population in subjects which would be of practical use to them. The bishops also ordered the priests to direct their efforts to the establishing of new parish schools (1785). Their numbers increased substantially and towards the end of the XVIII century were to be found in 92% of the parishes.

The National Education Commission did not introduce compulsory education in Poland, but being aware of the achievements in this field in other countries, its representatives tried to build up the network of schools and modernize the curriculum to suit the social-political and economic requirements of the country. The achivements of the Commission are indisputable and lasted for the following decades, introducing some solutions which were still in existence during the period of the Duchy of Warsaw (1807-1815) and the Kingdom of Poland (created in 1815 from part of the territory annexed by Russia).

Polish educational traditions revived in full at the beginning of the XIX century in the Duchy of Warsaw, which existed during the Napoleonic period. They were directly related to the regulations and decisions of the National Education Commission. In 1807, serfdom was abolished and the "Order for the Establishing of Elementary Schools" was issued in 1808 on Poland's own initiative. It was then that compulsory education was introduced - for children aged 6 to 12 in towns and 8 to 12 in villages - new curricula worked out and the organization of the school year changed. It is worth noting that the number of elementary schools increased by almost 400%.

It should be underlined that in the years 1795 - 1918, education was the most important field serving to preserve and strengthen the individuality and influence the national awareness amongst the population inhabiting the Polish lands. Two aspects can be differentiated in this question. The fight against denationalization was the defence of Polish culture, whereas that for the development of primary education also constituted the form of propagating the national awareness in the population. The problems concerning the dissemination of education and the accomplishment of the stages of introducing compulsory education under the Prussian, Russian and Austrian annexation therefore illustrates the social and economic policies of these three powers in the former Polish territories.

Towards the close of the XVIII century, the region under Prussian rule was notable for its favourable economic-social development. Numerous workshops sprang up in Górny Ślask (Upper Silesia), Pomorze (Pomerania) and Wielkopolska (Great Poland), and in agriculture the peasants' corvée was more frequently changed to renting (as a kind of lease). In accordance with the assumptions of the policies of the state, the lands annexed to Prussia were transformed into agricultural areas, thus impeding the previous development of industry.

The steady intensification of Germanization activities was particularly visible in education and colonization, consisting in the settling of a generically German population in the territory annexed. The laws previously issued in Prussia, concerning the abolition of serfdom and the principles of drawing up of contracts of labour were extended to cover the whole area in 1823. This substantially increased the interest in education amongst the Polish population.

In the three annexations, compulsory education was first introduced in Prussia. This resulted from an earlier policy aimed at increasing the numbers of better-qualified clerks, officials and well-trained soldiers educated according to standards established ny the state. After the edict of Frederick II of 1763, the Allgemeines Landrecht of 1794 was of particular importance, introducing, as it did, among other things, school districts and punishment for non-attendance at school. Increasing fiscal encumbrances, however, together with conscription to the army and the ruthlessness of the authorities had a negative effect on the situation of the Polish population. Important decisions affecting education were introduced by the Orders of 1810-1817 and primarily the Kabinettsorder of 14th May 1825 in which it was laid down that in lands annexed to Prussia education was compulsory for eight years for children aged from 6 to 14. These Orders had a favourable influence on the curtailment of illiteracy.

The gradual intensification of the Germanization action was observed during the XIX century. As the result of this the situation of Polish schools deteriorated considerably following the commencement, by Bismarck, of the so-called "Kulturkampf" in 1872. Together with the eliminating of the Polish language from all schools- even from the teaching of religion - was the fight with the catholic clergy. At the same time, Poles were dismissed from the judiciary, administration and schools.

The counteraction of the Polish population, which was important for the history of the universalization of education, consisted primarily in the establishing of associations of scholars, the popularization of learning, the opening of new libraries and reading-rooms, conducting of lectures for young people with insufficient financial means, the publishing of Polish books and text-books, the opening of Polish shops and the first factories competing with those in foreign hands.

Thanks to the intensive and manifold activities, the situation in elementary education on Poland regaining her independence in 1918, was relatively best under the Prussian annexation . Almost 100% of the children were receiving education in schools, although the standard of teaching was very low and the fulfilment of compulsory education was restricted to the lowest grade of primary school. Simultaneously, the effects of Germanization conducted by the majority of German teachers were felt. Those attending the elementary (folk) schools were primarily the children of workers and poorer peasants, but they were no longer, however, illiterate. The fight against Germanization on the other hand shaped the first hosts of Polish intellectuals and inspired them to creats works which constitute a lasting value in the achievements of Polish culture in the XIX and XX centuries.

Under the Austrian annexation, Maria Theresa's orders of 1776 outlined the nationwide character of education, which was not tantamount to the introduction of universal compulsory education. The successive reforms of the emperor Joseph II, of 1789, restricted - for a certain time - the exploiting of peasants by the gentry, but this did not, to any noticeable degree, liven up interest in education. The "Politische Verfassung der deutschen Volksschulen für die österreichischen Provinzen..", which were issued in 1805 occupy an important position and illustrate the increasingly heightening of Germanization and the trend towards giving the elementary school a uniform character. Supervision over schools was placed in the hands of the local clergy. The decisions of this order were obligatory under Austrian rule (in Galicia) up until 1873.

Throughout the whole of the first half of the XIX century Galicia experienced a distinct economic regress and the backwardness of the existing social-economic structures continued to increase. The outbreak of the peasant rebellion in 1846 stimulated the conducting of agrarian reforms. In 1848 the peasants were granted personal freedom, movement from one to another place of abode was facilitated and further changes were introduced into the education system. In Galicia, peasants accounted for 85% of the population and their small-holdings occupied almost 70% of the arable land. In the former Polish territories, industry did not develop, in principle. This was the effect of the Austrian government's fiscal policy - taxes were many times higher than in Russia and no investments were made in either agriculture or industry.

A characteristic feature was that under the Austrian annexation the Polish population endeavoured to moderate the pressure of Germanization primarily by means of legislation. Finally, greater internal autonomy was gained following Austria's defeats in the war with Prussia in 1866. Attempts were made to make up for the neglect in education. In 1869, barely 34% of all the children of school age attended elementary school, the network of which was sparse. On gaining autonomy efforts began to be made to improve the existing critical situation.

An important step in this sphere were the 3 school laws ratified by Vienna in 1873. These put in order the situation of the teachers, school supervision and introduced compulsory education. The decisions concerning compulsory education were confirmed in the contents of the new law of 23rd May 1895, defining it as 7 years for children in towns and 6 in villages. Lessons were to be conducted in the national languages: Polish, Ukrainian, Czech. The main accent in education was on religion and loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy. Despite the introduction of compulsory education, the majority of children did not complete it in full. At the beginning of the XX century, 86,5% of the children attended primary schools, whereas barely 5% finished the higher classes. In 1912, 97 parishes had no schools at all and 40% of the population were illiterates, in Galicia. It is worth mentioning that even after Poland's regaining of her independence in 1918, the 6-year compulsory education period was still maintained in the region which had been under Austrian rule.

Political culture underwent substantial evolution in Galicia in the XIX century, which had a favourable influence on the relations in education. In the initial phase of Austrian rule, the region was distinctly underprivileged in every respect. The economic crisis went hand-in-hand with social and cultural backwardness. Lower political activity continued to be characteristic of Galicia in the middle of the XIX c. The gaining of autonomy, however, became an important factor in the activating of society in all spheres.

The liberalization of relations in Austria was in contrast with their simultaneous sharpening under Prussian and Russian annexation. In this situation, towards the close of the XIX c. Galicia began to become transformed into Poland's greatest centre of learning, education, literature and art. At the same time, one can observe a clash of antagonistic social trends represented by the conservative camp and the activating of circles of middle-class democrats. This further stimulated literary output, the flourishing of universities and the taking shape of the national spirit in the new schools being established. These processes intensified distinctly on the threshold of the I World War, influencing the development of events during the first years of independence.

Under the Russian annexation, there is no history of compulsory education, as none such was introduced. The problem of the dissemination of education was, however, strictly connected with the political-social and economic situation of the region. In the XVIII and early XIX century, the traditions of the National Education Commission and activities of Vilno University played a substantial role.

In the Kingdom of Poland, a feature of the period up until 1830 was the liberalism of the tsardom, arising, among other things, from the wish to fulfil certain economic initiatives. It continued to be an agricultural country and the rural population constituted about 80% of the whole, but the land itself was still in the hands of the gentry. After 1815 in particular a trend favouring the development of industry and introduction of technical advancements could be noted, thanks to a considerable expansion in exports of goods to Russia. The network of vocational and even elementary schools increased simultaneously (in 1829 there were 665).

Repressions began following the defeat of the November insurrection (1830). The Polish "sejm" (parliament) and army were abolished, as was the separateness of Polish judiciary and education. Authority was based on police terror. Warsaw University and the learned societies were closed. Although elementary education was permitted to exist, but without any substantial material backing, hence there were schools in towns, but in villages, the peasants were unable to maintain them. In 1838, there was 1 school per 3000 people in Mazowsze (Mazovia), whereas this figure was almost 70000 in Podlasie. This aim of elementary education was the development of religious-moral upbringing and the teaching of obedience to the authorities. Russification was intensified simultaneously.

There were further repressions after the defeat of the January insurrection (1863). The affranchisement of the peasants in 1864 was to accelerate the ruin of the gentry's granges and farms, by depriving them of unpaid labour. There was, however, a development of industrial production concentrated in Polish hands. The decline of the elementary schools gradually increased. This education was very backward, the teachers were sometimes people of little value with very poor knowledge and volitionless character. At the beginning of the XX c., for every 1000 persons in the Kingdom of Poland there were 30 pupils (20 in **the** villages), whereas under Prussian annexation this figure was 190. In 1903, barely 16% of the children attended elementary school, about 65% of the population being illiterate. Even as compared with Galicia, the number of elementary schools was six times less, in 1914. The damage occasioned by the denationalization could not be compensated by private, clandestine teaching. In 1907, the tsar's authorities liquidated over 300 clandestine village schools. Compulsory education was never introduced in the Kingdom of Poland either, as the authorities were not anxious to propagate education and improve the level of intelligence of the people.

The anti-Polish policies of the invaders' governments, directed solely on the exploiting of workers in the newly-established factories, the education system calculated to denationalize a substantial part of the society and indifferent to the existence of millions of illiterates, the extreme poverty of wide circles of the population - these were the essential factors which delayed the development of universal and compulsory education and which illustrate the difficulties to be overcome in the years 1918-1939 and later, after the World War II, when compulsory education was introduced in 1945.

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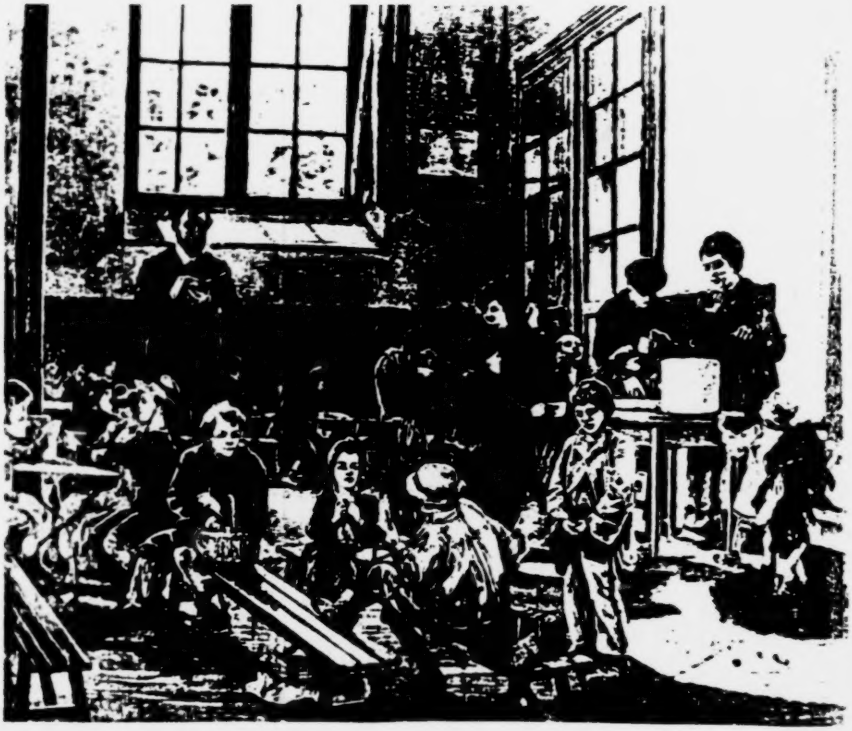


Refettorio di una scuola dell'800.

L'OBLIGATION SCOLAIRE AU PORTUGAL PENDANT LA PREMIERE MOITIE DU XX^{e} SIECLE

Aurea Adáo

1. Remarques préliminaires

La structure de l'enseignement public n'apparaît jamais comme un fait isolé. Son organisation correspond le plus souvent à l'idéologie politique et sociale des régimes qui sont au pouvoir, et, en général, traduit les conceptions de leurs gouvernants sur l'enseignement et la culture.

La limitation de notre étude aux 50 premières années de ce siècle ne se justifie pas par des raisons chronologiques, car il y a toujours des caractéristiques qui se maintiennent d'une phase à l'autre. Mais, dans cette première moitié du XXe. siècle, au Portugal, on a vécu trois changements de régime: le 5 octobre 1910, la Monarchie constitutionnelle fait place à une République parlementaire qui survivra pendant 16 ans; le 28 mai 1926, cette démocratie modérée est remplacée par une dictature militaire, laquelle se développera dans le sens d'un régime totalitaire et autoritaire, l'Etat Nouveau, sous la direction d'Oliveira Salazar.

Or, la réalité éducative portugaise de cette période ne correspond pas aux lois publiées. Quand nous regardons les actions les plus importantes, nous constatons une grande divergence entre ce que les législateurs et les pédagogues proposent et ce que les gouvernements mettent en oeuvre. On a tendance à publier des mesures sans prendre en compte la situation réelle du pays, mais plutôt dans le but d'une approche des systèmes étrangers ou en accord avec l'idéologie dominante. Beaucoup de textes ne sont pas accomplis, d'autres sont mis en pratique suivant une orientation tout à fait différente de celle que leurs auteurs leur avaient originairement donnée.

2. La scolarité obligatoire à la veille de la République

Le premier essai d'organisation générale de l'enseignement primaire public a lieu au XVIIIe. siècle, après l'expulsion des Jésuites, et assure aux enfants de la bourgeoisie leurs privilèges de classe: "Ne sont pas tous les individus du Royaume qu'ont doit élever dans le but des études majeurs, parce qu'il faut retrancher ceux qui seront occupés dans les travaux agricoles, et dans les métiers artisanaux. (...) Por eux, les instructions des prêtres suffiront"(1).

C'est seulement après la victoire définitive de la Révolution libérale qu'apparaissent des mesures visant au développement de l'instruction publique. Une loi du 7 septembre 1835 introduit un système scolaire organisé par degrés, dont le premier, le degré élémentaire, se destine à tous les enfants. Le principe de l'obligation scolaire y est établi de la façon suivante: "A l'obligation imposée au gouvernement par la Charte Constitutionnelle de divulguer l'instruction primaire à tous les citoyens, correspond l'obligation pour les pères de famille d'envoyer leurs enfants aux écoles dès qu'ils atteignent l'âge de 7 ans". Ensuite, le décret du 20 septembre 1844 adopte des sanctions pour les parents qui négligent l'accomplissement de la scolarité obligatoire. Cependant, ces amendes ne s'appliqueront jamais, quoique le principe se maintienne dans toutes les réformes de l'enseignement. En 1900, il y a encore 78,6% d'illettrés (71,6% d'hommes et 85,0% de femmes); depuis 1878, le taux ne s'est réduit que de 5%(2). Ce sont les départements à prédominance rurale qui détiennent les pourcentages les plus élevés d'analphabètes.

Nous ne pouvons donc parler d'une expansion de l'enseignement public pendant les 60 dernières années de la Monarchie: l'obligation scolaire n'est pas réalisée, la gratuité ne s'étend pas, le nombre d'établissements n'augmente pas suffisamment. En 1870, on estime une école pour chaque groupe de 1 100 habitants et un enfant scolarisé sur 32 portugais (3).

La loi générale de l'enseignement primaire en vigueur jusqu'à la proclamation de la République date du 24 décembre 1901. Elle restreint la scolarité obligatoire aux trois années d'enseignement élémentaire, le 1er. degré, qui a pour objet les notions de lecture, d'écriture et de calcul. Le 2ème. degré, facultatif, dure une année et donne l'accès aux lycées et à des postes de l'Administration Publique; la plupart des élèves ne fréquente pas ce degré - en 1906-1907, 79% de ceux qui avaient accompli l'obligation scolaire ne se présentent pas à cet examen, tandis qu'en 1909-1910, ils ne sont que 41,2%.

Ce n'est pas la pénurie de législation qui empêche la résolution des problèmes. C'est surtout l'instabilité politique, le budget étroit de l'Etat et l'existence de mesures oubliant les réalités et les moyens de leur application. Les partisans républicains présentent leurs critiques contre l'état de l'école élémentaire au moyen de la publication d'études ou de l'intervention de leur députés, au Parlement. Ils défendent alors les trois principes fondamentaux pour une éducation démocratique - l'obligation scolaire, la gratuité de l'enseignement et la laïcité -, qu'ils empruntent aux conceptions éducatives de la IIIe. République française. Les revues pédagogiques dénoncent aussi, vigoureurement, l'abandon de l'école portugaise. De même, un pédagogue connaisseur des systèmes étrangers affirme que dans le secteur de l'enseignement primaire, le Portugal a un retard d'un demi-siècle par rapport à la civilisation européenne(4).

Les instituteurs et d'autres pédagogues demandent une école moderne et insistent sur la solution urgente des problèmes prioritaires: la réduction du taux d'illettrés, l'accomplissement de la scolarité obligatoire, des écoles bien équipées et fonctionnant dans des locaux convenables. En ce qui concerne la fréquentation scolaire, ils y engagent aussi les familles: tout père a l'obligation d'envoyer ses enfants à l'école au même titre qu'il les nourrit et les habille Les monarchistes assistent indifférents à une telle situation. La loi en vigueur affirme elle-même que "l'ignorance et les habitudes traditionelles du peuple " ne permettent pas d'illusions sur les effets de l'enseignement obligatoire. Pendant la dernière année scolaire sous le régime royal, seulement 43,9% des enfants en âge scolaire sont scolarisés, et 86,9% des élèves inscrits fréquentent régulièrement l'école.

En 1911, la population de plus de 7 ans qui ne sait lire atteint 70,3%, et celle de plus de 12 ans, les 68,8%; uniquement 32,2% des jeunes entre 10 et 14 ans sont lettrés.

3. L'école primaire républicaine et la prolongation de la scolarité obligatoire

L'instauration de la République soulège d'énormes espoirs à l'égard du changement de l'école. Les revues pédagogiques s'en font l'écho et incitent les maîtres à collaborer à cette tâche qu'elles appellent de "relèvement national". Le premier gouvernement provisoire de la République manifeste tout de suite son intérêt pour l'instruction publique. Une réforme générale apparaît le 29 mars 1911 et établit un système d'enseignement primaire de trois degrés: l'élémentaire, le complémentaire et le supérieur. L'enseignement élémentaire (de 4 cours) constitue la scolarité obligatoire pendant les trois premiers cours pour les enfants de 7 à 14 ans; il leur donnera une formation de base et servira à révéler leurs aptitudes naturelles.

Dans le but de l'accomplissement de l'obligation scolaire, la loi prescrit que chaque commune possède au moins une école mixte, quand le nombre d'enfants ne justifie pas une école pour chaque sexe, et autorise des cours temporaires ou des écoles ambulantes, à chaque fois q'une commune ne peut installer une école. En prévoyant des difficultés pour satisfaire ces dispositions les républicains dispensent de la fréquentation les enfants qui habitent à plus de 2 kms. d'un établissement scolaire(5). Par ailleurs, le gouvernement doit déterminer chaque année les endroits où le précepte de l'obligation ne sera pas accompli à défaut d'une école.

L'école primaire dans les premières années de la République diffère peu de celle du temps de la Monarchie. Le principe de scolarité obligatoire ne représente que des mots sur le papier. La Commission d'Instruction du Sénat elle-même déclare l'obligation comme un leurre quand les locaux manquent, quand l'assistance scolaire n'est pas mise en pratique, et quand les instituteurs ne jouissent pas d'une situation matérielle encourageante(6). Les données statistiques concernant la fréquentation sont insuffisantes. En 1913-1914, les inscriptions représentent 43% des effectifs scolarisables. Par contre, en 1918-1919, elles se situent au niveau des 25,5%; ce sont les garçons qui subissent la réduite la plus forte - moins 4,4% par rapport à 1910-1911, tandis que les filles ne dépassent pas les 2,7%. D'autre part, peu d'élèves arrivent au cours de 4ème. facultatif: en 1910-1911, 41% de ceux qui ont terminé leur scolarité obligatoire font leur inscription à l'examen du 2^{e}. degré (42,3% de garçons et 38,5% de filles); en 1917-1918, ils ne dépassent pas les 34,6% (36,6% de garçons et 31,4% de filles). On arrive à la fin de la première guerre mondiale sans réaliser le programme prévu en 1911. La plupart des pays européens sont disposés à transformer leurs systèmes d'enseignement, alors que la question fondamentale de l'école se tourne vers ses objectifs sociaux. Au Portugal, une réforme est publiée en mai 1919(7). Elle apporte deux innovations: l'introduction de la coéducation et l'élargissement de la scolarité obligatoire à cinq années, pour les enfants entre les 7 et 12 ans. Cet enseignement primaire général finit par un examen au cours de 5ème. et se destine à fournir aux élèves "les instruments fondamentaux du savoir et les bases d'une culture générale, comme une préparation pour la vie sociale".

Malgré les espoirs, les lois ne sont pas mises en oeuvre. Les gouvernements se succèdent et les instituteurs poursuivent leur lutte et dénoncent toujours la faible fréquentation, le nombre insuffisant de locaux et leur dégradation. A la fin de 1923, sort une réforme partielle sur l'obligation scolaire, le rendement des élèves, l'efficacité de l'administration de l'enseignement et la carrière enseignante(8). En ce qui concerne la scolarité obligatoire, le texte détermine la création d'une école pour chaque groupe de 100 enfants, définit les montants des amendes à octroyer aux parents et crée un certificat d'études en 3ème., en vue de l'examen d'entrée au lycée. Dans la pratique, cette mesure signifie une réduction des années de fréquentation obligatoire, car les élèves obtiennent ce certificat et abandonnent l'école. Face aux critiques, le décret nº. 9580 du 5 avril 1924 remplace ce certificat par des examens en fin de 4ème. et de 5ème. D'une manière masquée, l'obligation scolaire se réduit ainsi à quatre années; en 1924-1925, ce sont 10,1% d'élèves qui se présentent à l'examen de 5ème.

Quand on arrive à 1925, l'école primaire et la condition de ses maîtres sont de plus en plus abandonnées. Les buts d'une école démocratique ne sont pas concrétisés. En 1911, il y a 75,1% d'illettrés. Qu'est-ce que les républicains font pour diminuer un tel nombre? Jusqu'à 1930, les taux ne baissent que 12%, c'est-à-dire, les analphabètes montent encore à 61,5%.

Il n'est pas étonnant de voir que les instituteurs gardent un certain espoir après le coup militaire du 28 mai 1926. Ils s'empressent de demander une loi exécutable en même temps qu'ils reconnaissent, pleins d'amertume: "Les nécessités de l'école primaire et de ses maîtres sont diverses. Malgré la législation qui s'entasse ces dernières années, nous pouvons affirmer que rien n'a été fait jusqu'aujourd'hui"(9).

4. La scolarité obligatoire à partir du 28 mai 1926

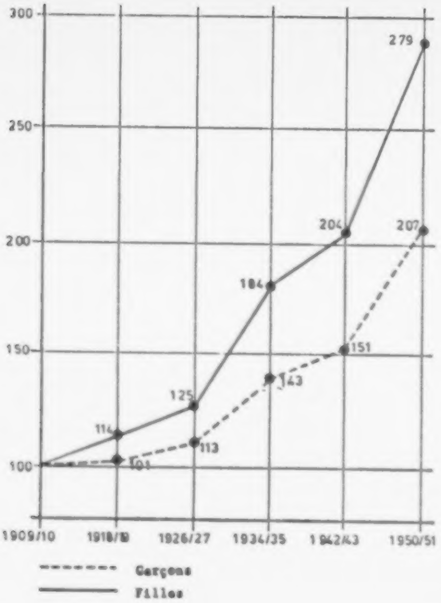
La Dictature Militaire publie le premier texte concernant une réforme de l'école primaire une année après son installation au pouvoir(10). Elle réduit l'enseignement élémentaire à quatre cours, obligatoires pour les enfants de 7 à 11 ans, en simplifiant considérablement leurs contenus, et annule le principe de la coéducation. C'est en 1930 que le gouvernement restreint la scolarité obligatoire à trois années; il reprend le système adopté à la fin de la Monarchie(11). En réalité, cette courte scolarité obligatoire traduit l'officialisation d'une pratique suivie déjà depuis longtemps. En 1928-1929, 56,5% des élèves qui étaient passés de 3ème. en 4ème. réussissent à obtenir leur certificat d'études. L'abandon est plus marqué chez les filles: 45,6% vont jusq'au bout contre 62,7% des garçons. Ce sont surtout les régions rurales et de l'intérieur qui détiennent les taux d'abandon les plus élevés. La Dictature Militaire avait déjà reconnu que plus que 50% des élèves ne fréquentaient pas le cours correspondant à leur âge.

Mais, le commencement d'une nouvelle phase pour l'école primaire portugaise a lieu en 1933. C'est la formation d'une école nationaliste suivant l'idéologie de Salazar. La première partie d'un projet général est alors publiée et se rapporte à une réorganisation des secteurs de l'administration, de l'inspection et de l'orientation pédagogique de l'enseignement primaire. Trois ans après, l'État Nouveau adopte d'autres mesures bien plus rétrogrades: il réduit les plans d'études et les programmes scolaires de façon à limiter l'instruction obligatoire "à faire apprendre à bien lire, à bien écrire et à bien compter, et à cultiver les vertus morales et un amour éveillé pour le Portugal"(12). Un élément d'étude des besoins de l'école primaire serait sans doute la connaissance des effectifs annuels scolarisables. Mais nous ne possédons que des données entre 1932 et 1939(13). En six ans, les inscriptions augmentent de 11% par rapport au nombre d'enfants en âge scolaire: en 1932-1933, 58% de ces enfants font leur inscription tandis qu'en 1938-1939, ils sont 64,4%. En ce qui concerne la fréquentation scolaire, les taux d'absentéisme se réduisent considérablement: en 1911, il y avait 20,6% d'enfants âgés entre 7 et 11 ans qui déclaraient fréquenter l'école; en 1950, ce sont 70,7%. La scolarisation des filles connaît une croissance plus rapide que celle des garçons. (Voir le graphique de la page suivante).

Les instituteurs qui s'opposent à cette politique scolaire gardent un silence forcé. Ils ont de plus en plus de mal à se manifester, car la répression gouvernementale augmente. Les maîtres de l'État Nouveau compte sur une école contrôlée par une politique gouvernementale rétrograde où ils ont la fonction de faire apprendre des enfants dont la majorité a comme le seu horizon scolaire la courte fréquentation de trois années. Et ils ont aussi la fonction d'enseigner des contenus très rudimentaires et éloignés de la réalité internationale. D'autre part, le bénéfice de la gratuité se restreint de plus en plus, écartant des études secondaires et même du 2^{e}. degré primaire les enfants issus des classes populaires.

Il n'y a aucune similitude avec la situation européenne; la scolarité obligatoire baisse à une époque où les problèmes de sa prolongation se pose dans plusieurs pays(14). Au Portugal, en 1938, l'obligation scolaire s'étend aux enfants âgés de 7 à 11 ans, quand l'Allemagne, la Belgique, l'Espagne, la France et l'Italie la prolongent des 6 ans jusqu'à 14 ans.

Dans le domaine de l'éducation, l'après-deuxième guerre mondiale se répercute faiblement sur le Portugal. Le développement très lent de la société portugaise, seulement au début de la décennie 1950-1960 contraint le gouvernement de Salazar à entamer des réformes en accord avec les besoins nationaux et la situation internationale(15). Le réseau scolaire reste très fai-



ble: en 1950, il compte une école pour 11 km^2, tandis qu'en 1911 il y avait une pour 15 km^2.

En 1950, il y a 40,4% d'individus âgés de plus de 7 ans qui déclarent ne savoir ni lire ni écrire. Entre 1930 et 1950, la réduction se situe en 35%; à ce sujet, le Portugal reste encore en arrière de tous les pays européens.

Ages des illettrés	1911		1930		1950	
	taux général	indice	taux général	indice	taux général	indice
De 7 à 11 ans	79,4	100	73,1	92	20,3	26
De 12 à 19 ans	65,1	100	56,0	86	30,3	47
De 20 à 29 ans	65,4	100	55,7	85	33,6	51
De 30 à 39 ans	66,5	100	56,0	84	41,9	63
De 40 à 49 ans	69,8	100	62,0	89	48,7	70
De 50 à 59 ans	73,5	100	66,7	91	52,9	72
De 60 ans et plus	78,5	100	72,8	92	62,8	80
De 7 ans et plus	70,3	100	61,8	88	40,4	57
De 12 ans et plus	68,8	100	60,2	88	42,8	62

5. Conclusion

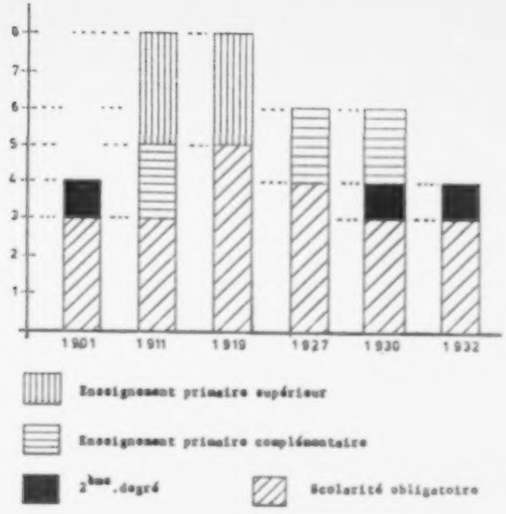
"Votre Majesté! L'éloquence des statistiques confirme, sans aucunes illusions, notre retard intellectuel et éducatif. En effet, la place qu'on occupe parmi les peuples civilisés est bien humiliante". Ce sont ces mots qui ouvrent un rapport des instituteurs sur l'état de l'école primaire portugaise, à la veille de la République(16).

Quel est donc le bilan de l'oeuvre scolaire pendant cette première moitié du XX^e. siècle?

Les budgets très faibles destinés à l'Instruction Publique sont une preuve de l'abandon officiel envers le secteur de l'enseignement. En 1924-1925, le montant accordé au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique n'atteint pas le tiers des frais prévus pour la Défense Nationale. En 1933, ce budget représent 9,5% du budget générale de l'Etat, mais quand on arrive à 1937, il se restreint à 7,9%. Les montants réservés à l'école primaire sont toujours plus bas que ceux d'autres pays. En 1933, ils correspondent à 46,5% du budget général de l'Instruction Publique, quand, en Espagne sont autorisés 64,8%, et, en France, 69%; en 1937, ces valeurs sont déjà plus élevées (54,6%), mais elles sont encore éloignées de celles de la France (65,6%) et de l'Espagne (76,4%)(17).

Pendant les 16 années du régime républicain parlementaire, la réalité scolaire ne correspond pas aux textes publiés, lesquels ne représentent qu'un ensemble de desseins généreux. Peu de gouvernants s'intérèssent à l'école primaire. Nous constatons un intérêt réel au début de la République et en 1919, mais sans aucune continuité. En effet, beaucoup de choses changeraient si les lois étaient mises en pratique, car elles proposaient une rénovation pédagogique ainsi qu'une voie pour la démocratisation de l'école.

Depuis 1927, l'enseignement primaire portugais commence à vivre des années inquiétantes. Après le renversement du régime parlementaire, les nouveaux gouvernants s'attaquent aux principes qui avaient inspiré les républicains. La structure de l'enseignemnt primaire se réduit peu à peu. À partir de 1933, nous trouvons alors les mêmes cours qu'au commencement du siècle, sous la Monarchie: trois années de scolarité élémentaire, obligatoire, et une année d'enseignement complémentaire, le 2^e. degré, comme le montre le graphique qui se suit.



NOTES

(1) Loi du 6 novembre 1772.

(2) Dans les mêmes années, la voisine Espagne parvient à une réduction de 11% (Cf. PEREZ GALAN, Mariano, La enseñanza en la Segunda República Española, Madrid, Editorial Cuadernos para el Dialogo - Edicusa, 1975, p. 25).

(3) Selon les données fournies par le décret du 16 août 1870, en France il y a une école pour 500 habitants et en Espagne une pour 600; en ce qui concerne aux enfants scolarisés, en Italie le rapport est de 1/15 habitants, en Espagne de 1/14, en France de 1/8.

(4) RAMALHO, Albano, Impressões sobre as escolas de França e Bélgica e crítica da educação e instrução primária em Portugal, Porto, Casa Editora de Antº. Figueirinhas, 1909, p. 7.

(5) A l'époque, une commune comprend parfois une vingtaine de villages, éloignés de quelques kilomètres du chef-lieu. Par ailleurs, les enfants malades ou handicapés sont également dispensés.

(6) A Federação Escolar, 3e. phase, année I, nº. 10 du 4 mai 1912.

(7) Décret nº. 5787-A du 10 mai 1919, réglementé par le décret nº. 6137 du 29 septembre 1919.

(8) Décret nº. 9223 du 6 novembre 1923.

(9) Exposé du 14 juin 1926. O Professor Primário, année VIII, nº 344 du 20 juin 1926.

(10) Décret nº. 13619 du 17 mai 1927, rectifié par le décret nº. 13791 du 16 juin 1927.

(11) Décret nº. 18140 du 22 mars 1930.

(12) Décrets nº. 22369 du 30 mars 1933 et nº. 27279 du 29 novembre 1936.

(13) Le nouveau régime détermine l'obligation annuelle du recensement des enfants en âge scolaire

(Cf. Décret nº. 15954 du 8 septembre 1928). Les autorités locales ne l'accomplissent pas. En 1951, le gouvernement recommande l'élaboration d'un recensement scclaire soigné, afin que la lutte contre l'analphabétisme atteigne ses objectifs (Cf. Décret nº. 38369 du 6 août 1951).

(14) Le Bureau International de l'Éducation inscrit ce sujet à l'ordre du jour de la Troisième Conférence Internationale de l'Instruction Publique (1934).

(15) Le décret-loi nº. 40964 du 31 décembre 1956 étend l'obligation scolaire à quatre années pour les garçons. C'est le décret-loi nº. 42994 du 28 mai 1960 qui attribue la même scolarité pour les filles.

(16) Rapport présenté au ministre du Royaume le 1 er. décembre 1908. Educação Nacional, 1 ère. série, 13 ème. année, nº. 638 du 6 décembre 1908.

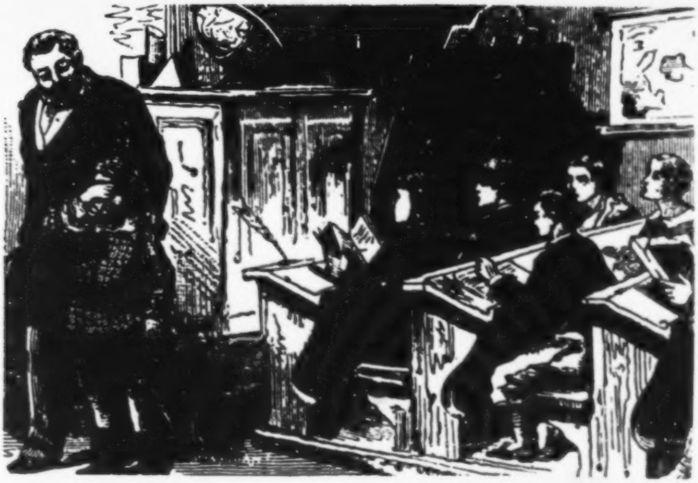
(17) Chiffres tirés de L'Annuaire international de l'éducation et de l'enseignement, Genève, Bureau International de l'Éducation, vols. concernant les années 1934 et 1938.

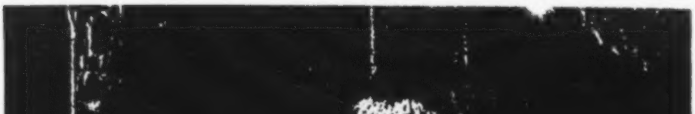
SUMMARY

During the first half of the XX century three changes of regime took place in Portugal: on the 5th of October 1910 a Constitutional Monarchy gave way to a Parliamentary Republic which lasted only for sixteen years; on the 28th. of May 1926 a moderate democratic regime is replaced by a Military Dictatorship which developed into a totalitarian and despotic regime led by Oliveira Salazar.

Before the overthrow of the Monarchy the compulsory education resumed itself to three years, that is, to the primary school in which the pupils first learn how to read, write and count. It was only in 1919 that the republicans extended compulsory education to five years for children of 7 to 12 years of age. The purpose was to provide them with "the essential elements of all knowledge and the basis for a general education". However, the school system that was in effect during the sixteen years of the first Portuguese Republic was far from the legislation then enacted on the matter.

From 1927 onwards compulsory education in Portugal became shorter in time whereas it was thought to be extended in various countries. By 1933 the duration officially established for compulsory education went back to that required in the beginning of the century and the sole purpose in mind was "to teach properly how to read, write and count, to pursue moral virtues and true love for Portugal".





COMPULSORY SCHOOLING AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN SPAIN 1936-1937: CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING THE LIBERTARIAN POSITION

Pere Solà

Exactly fifty years ago a civil war began in Spain and with it a process of social revolution(on the Republican side)/counter-revolution(on the side of the self-styled "Nationals").The object of this paper is to consider to what extent-in a climate expectant of profound economic,political and cultural transformation- theoretical schemes of a thecnical-pedagogical or ideological nature relating to compulsory schooling were debated and/or changed.In particular,I concentrate on the Catalan case,and on the mass formation or tendency which probably best embodies the "virtues and defects" of the ascendant phase of the revolutionary process.I refer to the libertarian movement.

I thought such a reflection could be relevant from at least two points of view in a dialogue among educational historians.First,it must be borne in mind that the emergency situation,such as a revolutionary and internationalized civil war,the function of many traditional institutions(whether economic,social or cultural) changes -at times quite substantially- in nature.As we shall see,this statement is also valid where the institution of school,the nature and function of compulsory elementary education are concerned.But,on the other hand,the actual opportunity to reorganize the social reality in accordance with particular ideological and philosophical patterns,even if very limited,must be used by the historians to analyse the utopian and/or realistic aspects of the ideology in question.

In 1936 the generalization of elementary education still remained to be dealt with in Spain.This is true even in Catalonia,where in the two preceding decades the process of industrialization han drawn an increasing number of immigrants from Aragon,the eastern and thesouth-eastern seabord of the Peninsula,especially Murcians.Now that the people,up in arms,believed that from 19th July they had finished with the "fascist hydra",it was a matter of creating "a new school,inspired by the rationalist principles of work and human brotherhood.This new unified school must be structured so that it not only substitutes the schooling system the people have just overthrown,but also creates a school life inspired by the universal sentiment of solidarity..."(1).Thus, one of the guidelines of this new unified school was elementary(basic) schooling from 6 to 15 years of age.In fact,it was a practically unrealizable guideline where autonomous Catalonia was concerned,despite the tremendous efforts made in schooling by different bodies(a fair number of town councils,the local commitees of the "Escola Nova Unificada", etc.)(2).It was,of course,a long-standing problem,and it was difficult to end and age-old inertia.The old-and till then the only- General Education Act of 1857,the Moyano Act,had ordered that elementary education was "compulsory for all Spaniards" between the ages of 6 and 9 years(article 7).The following article established sanctions for parents or guardians who failed to carry out this order(3).Over fifty years later,when the Conservative(monarchic) Party was in office,elementary education was extended to 12 years of age(13-VI-1909).As Monés rightly observed,this extension of compulsory formal education was merely "on paper" since in practice various factors made shorter,when it even existed,the period children spent in elementary school(4).We are in fact able to establish that until the Second Republic(the Bourgeois Republic as it has sometimes been called) there was no "real" desire on the part of political power for the realization of this principle of compulsory education,a principle which,apart from that,was specifically established in the Republican Constitution of 1931,where article 48 approved a "unified","lay","free" and "compulsory" school(5). We are not going to dwell upon the Republican drive to build schools,which took place primarily in the first two years(1931-1933).The fact is that in 1936 the lack of schools continued to prevent the generalization of elementary education.According to information from the President of Catalonia´s New Unified School(Escola Nova Unificada) almost a year after the Revolution began,the situation at the latter´s outset had been of 50.000 children schoolless,not including the 70.000 who attended the now-closed confessional schools(6).

In the organizational chart the New Unified School is known to have used nine years of compulsary basic education were specified. However,the primary level is clearly closely linked to the provision of pre-school education and the organization of para-schools services(canteens,summer camps,etc). As the war,with its devastating effects,progressed,the importance of this group of para-school services grew.In 1937 in the Levante over 50.000 refugee or evacuee children were concentrated in some 560 institutions such as summer camps,nurseries and homes,all in the rearguard zone of Murcia,Valencia and Catalonia,according to information provided by the Ministry of Public Instruction of the Republic(Social Museum) (7). In general,it can be stated that the situation of growing danger,even in the area distant from the battle-fronts, along with the reduced availability of adults to attend to infants´ daily needs,soon obliged the public institutions to extend these para-schools services from the children of refugees,orphans,etc.,to schoolchildren as a whole. These measures were imposed by mobilization for war or intensive work,as also by the need to "KEEP THE CHILD OFF THE STREETS,that school of evil ways and a constant danger for his life" (8).

It is important to bear in mind the new connotations which the everyday concept of "street" acquired in those dramatic circumstances,not only for the publications of liberal intellectuals faithful to the Republic.The "street" was virtually full of violent elements,of references to war.In the streets the " plebs" rule,those beyond control,ex-militia young women("milicianas") with their belief in more liberal rules of behaviour,unacceptable to classic "machista" schemes of thought(9). Besides this,the "street" is dangerous because it is full of armed people and,obviously,because of the constant threat of enemy raids.

For all these reasons,the downward-extension of schooling(augmenting the nursery service) is presented as a civic requirement. Where this is concerned local autonomy(of the local councils) is important. It should not be forgotten what an enormous economic effort is presupposed by the need to remunerate the personnel,especially a rather numerous personnel,to look after the children during non-schools hours,particularly if it was hoped to cover even Saturday afternoons "and even Sundays for those children whose parents cannot or do not wish to keep them at their side during the holiday"(10). This extension of school also occurred with respect to summer holidays(11). According to the person in charge at the Generalitat(autonomous government),the suppression of the holidays was justified by the need already mentioned to protect the children but also two other reasons. First,in a state of war the organization of summer camps was becoming more and more difficult(12). Besides,as reasons of war had led to the suppresion of summer holidays from other work(1937),"il would not be fair to make an exception with primary education". It should,however,be said that in summer school lasted only three hours in the morning,devoted chiefly to games and artistic and manual activities,and that teachers were given the opportunity to attend courses to "brush up" their catalan.

Without doubt,the revolutionary situation involved elements which made easier the application of compulsory schooling,but there were also "traditional" obstacles still,making regular school attendance difficult.This does not even take into account the psychosis of fear and the selfishness of not wishing to part with possible searchers for means of subsistence.

Among the elements favouring effective compulsory schooling,there was,to begin with,the change in attitude,rather than values,brought about by the new situation. As a whole the population was more willing to lend its assistance. In particular,there is plentiful written and oral evidence corroborating that the attitude of "lack of interest in education" changed rapidly(13). It was stated that "although in some rural and urban areas the traditional unconcern persists,everything leads one to believe these will be absorbed by the general current" (14).The principal reasons for this indifference were thought to have been -and continued beeing in time of revolutionary war- economic(in areas where the extense poverty of the population meant premature use of child labour,especially in agriculture),climatological or geographic(dispersion of the population). Nevertheless,another important and positive factor was recognized,that of the teacher´s work,that of the new generation of teachers "free of the ominous incluence formerly exercised (and still exercised let us admit it) by some caciques" (15).The hard-working country schoolteacher attracts children-we are told- who flee from an indifferent one. Looking through a school´s registers a teacher´s zeal may be descovered: "A teacher should consult the school census in the Civil Register of the town so that not a single child should fail to attend school,and once all children have been enrolled, not a single unjustified absence should be allowed". However,the same source states in july 1937,it is clear that good teachers do not simply happen. They must be trained and suitably paid. Only thus can a "cultural atmosphere" be formed,whose creation is dependent anlso on libraries,lecture cycles,children´s clubs(the source states that there is none in the city in question,Girona) and "everything that tends to extend the social action of the school". All this will lead to a reduction in "the seriousness of the problem of children attendance at school"(16).

These words,taken from a journal of the anarcho-syndicalist CNT,but equaly to be found in the proclamations and publications of the UGT and other left-wing formations,reflects what might be described as general opinion among the workers concerning the need to enforce compulsory elementary schooling(17). With the war going on,given the practical duality of the school system in Catalonia(that depending on the central government and the New Unified School run by the Generalitat),a strange situation as concerns the compulsory aspect came into being legally-in that -as has already been said- in the Generalitat schools 15 was the school-leaving age. For this reason,the Section of National Teachers of Barcelona(FETE),for example,in their assembly of August 1937,when calling for the application of measures in the event of an eventual transfer of schools of the central state to the Generalitat,included the demand that the latter body "work out the means of enabling the whole school population of Catalonia to avail itself of primary education. The school-leaving age will be 15".(18)

Thus,the general opinion of the liberal and left-wing forces,from Republicans to anarchists,concerning the need to apply economic means and strong measures of every kind to achieve the generalization of elementary education is beyond doubt. The position of Domingo´s and Llopis´supporters is transparent(19). In any case,the difference of emphasis between these diverse formations springs rather from the type of educational institution where these demand for schooling should be satisfied.While for Republicans and socialists the public school,run by the state,lay and unique,was entrusted with the entire population´s schooling,the anarchists gave more importance to the instructional value of other educational institutions(organized young volunteers, the couple based on free love,cinema,radio,travelling schools,etc.) and traditionally mistrusted state education(20). Nonetheless,on the eve of the Revolution,in their Congress of May 1936,they did not fail to recognize,somewhat vaguely and imprecisely,that "there is an immediate need to organize an elementary culture among the illiterate population".

It is worth reflecting on the value attributed to the principle of compulsory education by the Spanish anarchists. Nothing was further from this movement with popular roots than the existence of an anti-school or de-schooling tendency in the sense given it in recent years in the school-as-institution debate debate represented by such autors as Reimer,Illich or-previously- Goodman. Traditionally,the Spanish worker' movement vaslued and defended popular elementary education and the institution of school. The fact was that revolutionary syndicalism aimed at a free school,whether lay syndical or attached to an "ateneu"(a scientific or literary society),but it rejected the confessional school,so well-established in middle-class or popular sectors where conservative ideologies prevailed,just as it rejected the state school(21). Thus neither a school education nor its being compulsory were in question.On the contrary,education and culture were viewed in labour movement circles as an indispensable springboard to individual and collective emancipation(22),not without an occasional lapse into romanticism. In Ferrer's Modern School formulation popular education,rational,scientific and humanitarian, is a true categorical imperative. There are no grounds for believing Ferrer would not have accepted fully the principle of compulsory education;rather we must be convinced that Ferrer' Modern School's practice fitted almost totally the patterns of middle-class respectabilityof any "good" school of principles at the beginning of the century:the classification of students according to performance and application,checks on attendance at school,"moral" repression of unpunctuality,etc. (23). We are not suggesting that these norms of "middle-class" respectability in the school proved so effective in the "rationalist" worker's schools based on Ferrer´s model which then and in the following decades spread throughout Catalonia,Valencia,etc.The reason for this was simple:to begin with there was no need to evaluate the performance of workers,since their acquisition of knowledge was not intended as a preparation for secondary education. The clientele of Ferrer i Guardia's Modern School,on the other hand,was,above all,composed of members of pregressive professional families,who were to aspire to posts requiring secondary and further education.

During the Republic-and the Civil War- however,such a demand had increased, even for the "children of the people".It should not,therefore,surprise us that such important libertarian educationist as Jose de Tapia should sum up the aims of the New Unified School using the following concepts:"natural graduation of all the educational and cultural cycles from nursery school to University;rational,scientific and natural selection of pupils;non-payment,and economic compensation for needy families;real compulsory nature with enough schools and higher centres of culture;co-education at all levels;lay, apolitical character." (24).Even if momentarily,it is illustrative to consider Tapia's idea:"real compulsory nature with enough schools and higher centres of culture":during the Second Republic and Revolution libertarian educationalists had gradually become convinced that the "children of the people" should also have access to post-elementary education. The process followed,though somewhat delayed,was thus similar to that of industrialized countries such as Great Britain,where despite conservative resistance the chief union power demanded free post-elementary education(Bradford Charter,1917,etc.)(25). Paradoxal as it might seem,even the supposed spearhead of the anarchist revolution-the groups of the Iberian Anarchist Federation or F.A.I.- brandished the slogan of compulsory education in their phase of authentic protagonism. So,in the Regional Plenary Assembly of Anarchist Groups of Aragon,Rioja and Navarra of the FAI,held in Alcañiz on 20th September,1936,a local group-that of Castelserás(26)- "manifests that one of the first things under consideration has been the setting up of schools(...) and for this schooling must be compulsory up tu 14 years of age, and also a Cultural Section has been established in which the necessary instruction will be given to young people over 14 and to adults who voluntarily enrol therin,since it has unfortunately been demonstrated that the immense majority of men lack general culture,some even being unable to add up,and this Cultural Section for adults in Castelsrá(sic) must begin working as soon as the premises assigned to it are ready". For its part the Regional Plenary Assembly of Syndicates of the Levante,held in Valencia from 9th November,1936, adopted a principle of school organization based on that of the Catalan CENU(27).

In practice,then,the libertarians are seen to work daily during the Civil War with the concept of compúlsory schooling and,on tje other hand,accord a lesser role,even ignore,the more genuinely anarchist idea(formulated in the resolutions of the Zaragoza Congress of May 1936) of "education through the environment",following the guidelines of Elisée Reclus and others(28). But it must be borne in mind that,as previously stated,the "environment" of war did not exactly help to bring about "free" experiences.Nor should it be forgotten that there was a change in function- and even a distorsion of the civil institutions which,in times of war,assumed extraordinary roles. Thus,in the revolutionary context described,the syndicates acted as political parties,and the consumer cooperatives -firmly established in Catalonia and Valencia-acted almost as public agencies of distribution of subsistence rations(29). As for the school,its traditional raison d'être as the place of learning and acquisition of knowledge and of socialization(and of social and ideological control) had to be combined with other functions,as already suggested:the school had to become a refuge against a hostile and dangerous environment. It had to become a place of protection and maintenance not only for orphans and the children of combatants and working women,but even for the offspring of the non-militarized civilian population(30). This is why much of what is foreseen in the "generous,intelligent" CENU plan remained unfulfilled. In a situation imposing obligatory unio-membership(to save one's life on occasion),the suppression of holidays from work and of pay claims and even the partial suppression of school holidays,the rigid school framework was entirely fitting. But these limitations arising from the situation did not prevent,but rather stimulated,a multiplicity of experiences carried out with great enthusiasm by trained teachers and other far less trained,although there was also much pernicious improvisation.

Once the Civil War was over,the labour organizations suffered exile and implacable repression at home.In the first decade of Franco's rule and until its almost total disbandment the anarcho-syndicalist syndicate played a probably overwhelming role in the left-wing opposition to General Franco. But its action was now limited to the military(guerrillas) and labour fields,chiefly.Cultural and educational action had no place,or were confined to overseas after 1945. Other left-wing formations(communists,socialists) were to find in secrecy a calmer rhythm which would allow them to vegetate. So it was that in 1964 the school-leaving age was only 12,"the lowest maximum in Europe"(31). In 1970,according to the same source,reflecting the viewpoint of the Spanish Communist Party,the theoretically compulsory schooling(32) up to 14 years of age "is not even applied totally.A very large number of children do not finish their primary education and continue to leave school at 12 or 13 to work the land.In the towns many thousands of children of school age work-a fact which official publications remain silent about"...

Final considerations

The analysis of an experience of revolutionary change which was cut short can be used to detect the utopian and/or realistic aspects of the ideologies claiming to justify or guide this change.As regards the libertarians and their performance in the field of education and school,we frequently observe the defect or mistake of considering chiefly their "ideas" on paper or intentions,but leaving unexamined their actual performance,hybrid and imperfect,the fruit of numerous compromises,of different needs and chances,as we have tried to show focussing on the social revolution of 1936,Spain.Thus it is that in treatises on libertarian pedagogy Ferrer i Guàrdia is usually contrasted with Tolstoy,Faure,Neill and others(33). Yet the hybrid and complex achievements of libertarian educational rationalism in the various historical communities of the Spanish state up to 1939 are made no mention of,which makes it difficult to see how progress can be made in our knowledge of such a sort of "popular education" on the one hand and,on the other,in the theory of education(which can not refuse to investigate the facts).

We therefore hope this paper will have helped better to establish the role the anarchists(and the left wing in general) attributed to the school during the first phase of the Civil War.It would be a mistake if recent debate about the point of compulsory schooling for adolescents and the "school crisis" influenced anyone to postulate the existence among the working-class forces of 1936 of a de-schooling tendency as understood by Illich and Goodman.What is true is that the Spanish labour movement had traditionally viewed the question of school as a fight to attain an inalienable right. A right not only to the minimal elementary education,but to post-elementary education and to the acquisitionof culture in the broadest sense. The failure of the labour movement(in the military field) delayed these conquests. Inequality of opportunity still exists.As for the Spanish anarchists,they can be said to have seen no opposition between the demand for compulsory elementary education and their ideas of "free" "environmental" education. From 1936 to 1938 they made a great effort-like the other forces supporting the "social Republic"- to provide schooling for all through such new structures of organization as the Council for the New Unified School or the Collectives("Colectividades"). But there was much that went against them:the new teaching structure could not be improvised and obligatory union-membership distorted and confused. The material means,beginning with the buildings provided,did not favour the ideal of school for all,which existed only on paper.The penury and scarcity of food in the second part of the war,along with the atmosphere of physical unsafety,also provoked the well-known weakening of familly and social pressure to attend school regularly. New ways(productive school,Freinet techniques,etc.) were experimented with enthusiastically,but the structural rigidity of the increasingly more lamentable situation created prevented many other things being tried.

NOTES

1.FONTQUERNI,E.,RIBALTA,M.,*L´ensenyament a Catalunya durant la guerra civil.El CENU*(Teaching in Catalonia during the civil War),Ed. Barcanova,B. 1982,p. 177

2.Ibid.,pp. 163-170

3. MEC(Pref. M. de Puelles),*Historia de la Educación en España II.De las Cortes de Cádiz a la revolución de 1868* ,adrid,1985,p. 247:"Elementary primary education is obligatory for all Spaniards.Parents or guardians or those in charge will send their children and wards to public schools from the age of 6 to that of 9;unless they are provided with sufficient instruction of this kind in their homes or in private establishements".See also,pp. 456,458,461(art. 5):"Proyecto de Ley de Instrucción Pública de 9-XII-1855,..."

4.MONÉS,J.,*El pensament escolar i la Renovació Pedagògica a Catalunya*(Thought on the School and Pedagogical Renewal in Catalonia),Edcs. La Magrana,1977,p. 398.

5.CARBONELL,J.,MONÉS,J.,*Escola Unica-Unificada*(A Sole Unified School),Laia,Barcelona,1978, p. 184.SAMANIEGO B.,M.,*La política educativa de la Segunda República*(Educational Policy during the Second Republic),CSIC,M.,1977,p. 91 ...

6.According to Puig Elias,haste in providing school places would explain the use of ill-fitted premises,as also the numbers crammed into the schools,some of which had 1000 pupils when their capacity was for 300.Vid. *Gerona CNT,14-7-1937*:"Vida Cultural.La escuela en la Revolución".The propaganda publication(in leaflet form) *L´ensenyament popular a Catalunya de l´adveniment de la República al Juliol de 1937* (Popular teaching in Catalonia at the Start of the Republic in July 1937) ,published in 1937 by the Generalitat estimated the total number of school-less children for 1936 at 72.300.It assumes all school-age Catalan children to attend school for 1937,a fact the historian cannot accept.

7.SAFON,R.,*La educación en la España revolucionaria*(Education in Revolutionary Spain),Edcs La Piqueta,Madrid,1978,p. 1o9.A good study of this aspect of institutions for refugees,pp. 1o7-115.

8. *L´Autonomista*(Girona),18-IV-1937,art. "Deures d´ara i de sempre(Duties now and always), unsigned.This editorial laments the corrosion of "moral values" caused by the war.

9.*Ibid.*,art. "Marginals",Ll. Bota i Villa.

10. FONTQUERNI/RIBALTA,op. cit.,note 40,chapt.VI on local committees for school canteens and the case of Girona.Also pp. 155 et seq.

11. *Gerona CNT*,18-VII-1937 "Ordre sobre vacances"(Order concerning Holidays),dictated by the Minister of Culture,Carles Pi i Sunyer.

12. AS J.M. Dalmau Casademont,the municipal authority explains most eloquently:"Colònies escolars"(Summer Camps),*Gerona CNT*,21-VIII-1937

13.L´Autonomista,Girona,5-IV-37:El greu problema de la inassistència del nen a l´escola" (The Serious Problem of the Child´s Non-attendance at School)

14. Ibid.,part of the argument follows the line of L. Bello,Viaje por las Escuelas de España(Journey around the Schools of Spain),4 vols.,Madrid,1927.

15. In rural areas there were cases of town officials who before the revolution were members of right-wing organizations(Lliga) and now figured in the communist or CNT ranks. /// 16.Cf. L´Autonomista,5-IV-1937(note 13) /// 17.FONTQUERNI/RIBALTA,op.cit.,p. 16 /// 18.My underlining(P.S.). /// 19.SAMANIEGO B.,op. cit.,p.187:XIII Congress of the PSOE,6-13 oct. 1932. The educational report indicated,amongst other things,that compulsory schooling must be sought.Note the non correspondence of the demand of six years of schooling with the age of leaving school(14 years). /// 20.Prolegómenos de la Revolución Española.El Congreso Confederal de Zaragoza,Edcs CNT,1955,s.l.,chiefly pp. 197-201:there is no explicit mention of compulsory schooling. /// 21.BAR,A.,La CNT en los años rojos,1910-1926. (The CNT in the Red Years),Akal,M. 1981. /// 22.SOLÀ,P., Las escuelas racionalistas en Cataluña(19o9-1939)(The Rationalist Schools in Catalonia), Ed. Tusquets,Barcelona,1976,p.180,etc./// 23.SOLA,P.,Educació i moviment llibertari a Catalunya(19o1-1939) (Education and the Libertarian Movement in Catalonia),Edcs 62,Barcelona,1980,p. 1o9,etc. /// 24.TAPIA;J. de,Ensayo sobre organización de la educación nacional ,Edcs. Tierra y Libertad,1945,pp. 16-17,On Tapia,cf. SOLÀ,P.,Educació i moviment llibertari... ,pp. 230 et seq. /// 26.SAFÓN,R.,op. cit.(note 7),p. 178.

27.Ibid.,p. 176.See also FERNÁNDEZ SORIA,J.M.,Educación y cultura en la guerra civil,Nau, València,1984,pp. 109-113./// 28. PRATELLE,A., La educación por el ambiente(Education through the Environment),appendix of La Escuela Moderna,Tusquets ed.,Barcelona,1976,pp. 253-256. /// 29.SOLÀ,P.,Notes sobre discurs cultural i associacionisme a les comarques gironines durant la guerra civil ,in La guerra civil a les Comarques gironines(1936-1939) ,Ed. Cercle d´Estudis Històrics i Socials ,Girona,1986,pp. 303-323.

30.SolÀ,P.,Las escuelas racionlistas...,pp. 171-174:"L´escola de cara a la guerra"(School opposite to War),p. 173 "War interests children(...),but it´s their war,causing quarrels, with fisticuffs or a stone thrown.Ours for them is just a game".

31.La enseñanza en España(Teaching in Spain),Ed. Ebro,París 1970,p. 26. /// 32. Ibid., where the maximum of 14 years(c. 1970) is considered "ridiculously inadequate...at a time when European countries have had a higher figure for years and when the tendency is to raise the limit from 16 to 18 years". /// 33.AVRICH,P.,The Modern School Movement,New Jersey,Princeton,1980,well-documented on the "modern schools" movement in the U.S.A. and its pedagogical and cultural connections.However,with reference to the value of Ferrer,it adopts the uncritical Ferrer "mythology" of the first American "modern schools". This is probably due to a great lack of contac with Latin documentary sources.This same lack of contact with Spanish or Italian sources(the closest to the libertarian workers'movement of the first decades of the century) afflicts the stimulating study by SMITH,M.P.,The Libertarians and Education,Unwin Education Books,London 1983,where there is,for instance,no reference to the works of T. Tomasi,etc.

RESUME

L´objet de cette communication c´est de considérer dans quelle mesure,en pleine phase de profonde transformation sociale,economique et culturelle, les organisations ouvrieres "protagonistes" de la révolution de 1936-1937 en Espagne ont discuté et/ou changé leurs schémas sur l´obligation scolaire.J´étudie en particulier le cas catalan et la formation ou courant de masses qui en 1936 était hégémonique dans les milieux ouvriers industriels:la C.N.T.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOR IN SPAIN IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY (MADRID, 1900-1920)

Alejandro Tiana Ferrer

Introduction

The short-lived liberal constitution of 1812 was the first Spanish legal text to proclaim that education should be universal, public and free. Forty-five years later, the Moyano Act (1857) made elementary education mandatory for all Spanish children from six to nine years of age, with fines for parents who violated this law (1). Nevertheless, throughout the first third of the 20th century it was compulsory in name only. In reality, a large part of Spanish children did not attend school. The reasons for such a situation were many - lack of classroon space, low regard for education among the lower classes, a backwards manufacturing industry and a fragile governmental structure - but there was another, as well. The maintenance of a child labor market as required by incipient Spanish capitalism is the matter taken up herein.

Madrid may, in a way, be regarded as an example of the situation throughout Spain. Although quite different from the industrial (Catalonia and the Basque Country) and agricultural (Andalusia, Castile and Galicia) areas, the capital mirrored the processes the country as a whole was undergoing. Madrid was sitting out down the road towards industrialization without losing the bureaucratic quality which had always characterized it. It is true that Madrid was educationally and culturally on a level above the national average, but for this very reason, the imbalances which could be observed suggested a graver situation nationwide.

Children without a school

The Moyano Act made school attendance compulsory between six and nine years of age, as indicated above. A royal decree dated October 26, 1901 and later included in a law enacted of June 23, 1909, extended this period to twelve years of age. This was to be the compulsory schooling age range until 1923, when it was again extended, this time to age fourteen.

Despite these provisions of law, during the period - covered by this study (1900-1920) there was no classroom space for many of the children of Madrid, as can be seen in Table 1.

TABLE 1. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN MADRID, 1901-1918

Year	School-age population	Public school capacity	Private school capacity	Shortfall
1901	62,057	12,960	27,200	21,897
1908	67,792	13,860	28,140	25,792
1918	80,135	22,536	43,658	13,891

Source: Compiled by the author from various nation- and city-wide statistical surveys (2).

This figures are open to several intrerpretations. - Spanish historians are aware of the relative realiability of - statistics from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Beyond this general inaccuracy, it should be borne in mind that some - children between the ages of ten and twelve would be in scondary school and that the statistics would incluye -incorrectly- a - certain number of kindergarteners. Any estimate of the classroom space deficit should therefore be used for guidance only and is not to be taken literally.

In any event, the statistics show that in the public and private schools of Madrid there was no room for 17% to 38% of the children from six to twelve years of age. We also know - that there were more private than public schools - twice as many (3).

Many of the children not in school spent the day on - the street. From their ranks came the "golfos" (punks) and -- beggars which abounded in Madrid. Not infrequently they became outright delinquents and made the newspapers, as dis the gang headed by fourteen-year old "el Diestro", which committed several robberies in 1914 (4). Many school-less children, however, did -

not follow this path. Their fate was the world of work, despite their youth. Let us discuss them now.

Child labor and the schools

The first Spanish child labor law was never enforced. The law dated July 24, 1873, which made it illegal for children under 10 to work in factories, workshops, foundries and mines - and limited the workday for children under thirteen to five -- hours, was law on paper only. The exhaustive information compiled by the Social Reform Board in 1884 on working class living - and working conditions confirmed that many children under ten - worked ten or more hours a day for ludicrous wages and in harsh conditions (5). Such was the case both in industry and in mining, agriculture and commerce. The uselessness of the 1873 law is the obviuos conclusion (6).

In the last decade of the 19th century a noteworthy - process unfolded. Several political and ideological groups agreed on the need for a certain measure of government control in labor matters in order to defuse a growing social tension. The result would be the enactement of the first so-called "social" laws - after overcoming the opposition of certain political and economic groups (7).

The first law enacted during this reform movement was precisely the March 13, 1900 woman and child labor law. This law and the relevant code passed on November, 13, 1900, were basically the same as the 1873 law, although more enforcement control mechanisms were provided. They regulated the workday for minors, night work and work in unhealthy or dangerous industries. -- Children under ten were barred from working, but there were two important excepcions: nine-year olds who could read and write - could be hired, and the law did not apply to farming or work - in family-owned shops.

A year after the law was enacted, the Ministry of -- Public Education increased the school age to twelve years, as -

indicated earlier. These two provisions of law, then, entailed an insolvable contradiction; compulsory school-age children could legally work after turning ten, and some could work at nine. In such circumstances the government would be hard-put to enforce compulsory schooling. And to make matters worse, the lack of classroom space made it impossible to comply with the 1900 law on education for working-class children.

To explain the contradiction between the two laws --both clearly reformist- we must examine the pressure exerted on the government by industry, and the tacit consent of a broad sector of the working class. While the former counted on low child (and women's) wages to offset the low productivity and competitiveness of many industries, the latter could not do without this important contribution to their low family incomes (8). In other words, Spanish capitalism was so underdeveloped that it allowed children to work at ages and in conditions which other countries were beginning to proscribe.

The result of this set of circumstances would be taking children from school early; as Cossio noted, "Most village and city children leave school at ten or eleven, and this happens even earlier in rural areas" (9).

Working children in Madrid

In the specific case of Madrid, Cossio's observation is upheld by the large number of working children in the first few years of the 20th century. The figure cannot be established exactly because of the lack of relevant statistics. There are, however, several witnesses who confirm this information. For example, a publication which provides interesting insights into the state of industry in Madrid at the beginning of the century, *Memoria acerca del estado de la industria en la provincia de Madrid en 1905*, refers to the considerable use of children labor in the capital of Spain "not only as apprentices but also as production workers" (10). The low wages paid to minors (one-third of adult wages) explain why 27% of the 97,133 industrials workers reported in Madrid were under eighteen (11). And, although no exact figures are available, it is safe to assume that a -- goodly number of them were school-age children.

Práxedes Zancada, with close ties to the Social Reform Board, provides more explicit data in his work El trabajo de la mujer y el niño. Based on information provided by Socialist leader Juan José Morato, Zancada speaks of 3,812 children working in many different occupations. An interesting item is the presence of children under ten in paper, metallurgical and shoe factories and in print shops (12). The working-class press, as well, -- discussed the existence of many children working in such Madrid enterprises as print shops, glass, shoe and other factories, - and denounced their poor working conditions and overlong workdays (13).

Besides these children who worked in factories, many others worked in stores. Internment remained an institution until regulated by law in 1918 - and even afterwards. The small - size of most of Madrid's commercial establishments until before 1920, the lack of working-class and trade union conscienceness, among the shop assistans,and the relative easiness of work in - this sector helped keep child labor at a high level during the first two decades of the 20th century (14). As in the previous case, we have no reliable statistics to provide more exact data. But, thanks to information compiled by Julián Juderías, we know that many minors worked as shop assistants, errand boys or clerks (15). Both in commerce and in industry, the late regulation of apprenticeship contracts (a law enacted in 1911) helped favor - the exploitation of children masked as trade apprenticeship.

But not all working children worked for others. As - explained above, the law did not save minors from working in - family industries and shops. It is practically impossible to - even estimate the number of children who did not attend school because they were working in family businesses. Such literary testimonies as the novels of Corpus Barga, Pío Baroja, and Max

Aub lead us to assume that their numbers were not insignificant. Since they were not within the jurisdiction of the labor inspectors, the working conditions of these children would not be easy to control (16).

As a whole, it can be concluded that in Madrid at the beginning of the century there was a large contingent of children working in many different industries and in conditions which were, as a rule, harsh. Many of them had stopped going to school although still of school age, and their education was incomplete, if not - deficient.

Conclusion

The legal ages for attending school and for working could continue to overlap for quite a few more years in Spain. To overcome this contradiction, greater economic development and increased government capacity to enforce social legislation were required. The factors necessary for a definitive step forward in compulsory education in Spain would not be present until 1931. Somewhat before then -in 1915- Spanish labor and social legislation began to be generally enforced. The efforts made by the - most reform-minded sector of the bourgeoisie and working-class pressure led to acceptance by a growing number of industrialists and businessmen of government intervention in these matters (17). Despite this trend, however, during the first two decades of - this century school was nothing more than a short interlude in the lives of many working-class children, as illustrated by the example of Madrid. Compulsory education was a mere declaration - of principle, still far from fulfillment.

NOTES

(1) The process whereby the principles of education were developed in Spanish law is described in PUELLES BENITEZ, Manuel: Educación e ideología en la España contemporánea, 1767-1975, Barcelona, Labor, 1980.

(2) Sources: *Censuses* of 1900, 1910 and 1920; *Anuario Estadístico de Instrucción Pública correspondiente al curso 1900-1901*, Madrid, Min.Instruc.Pública, 1904; *Estadística escolar de España en 1908*, Madrid, D.G. del Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico, 1909; *La enseñanza primaria en Madrid*, Madrid, Imp.Municipal, 1918.

(3) A more exhaustive analysis of the school situation in Madrid during those years may be found in TIANA FERRER, Alejandro: *Educación de la clase obrera de Madrid en el siglo XX (1898-1917)*, tesis doctoral inédita, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1985, vol. I, pp. 284-388.

(4) "Los pajarillos. Diez muchachos detenidos", *El Socialista*, n° 1.720 (7 de febrero de 1914) p. 3. About the world of punks and beggars in Madrid, see BERNALDO DE QUIROS, Constancio and LLANAS AGUILANIEDO, José María: *La mala vida en Madrid*, Madrid, B. Rodríguez Serra ed., 1901; GARCIA MOLINAS, *Francisco: La mendicidad en Madrid*, Madrid, R. Velasco Imp., 1916; BAHAMONDE, Angel and TORO, Julián: "Mendicidad y paro en el Madrid de la Restauración", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n° 7 (1978) pp. 353-384.

(5) SOCIAL REFORM: *Información oral y escrita practicada en virtud de la Real Orden de 5 de diciembre de 1883*, Madrid, M.Minuesa de los Ríos, 1889-1890, 5 vols.

(6) "No se cumplía la ley de 1873": ZANCADA, Práxedes: *El trabajo de la mujer y el niño*, Madrid, M. Núñez Samper ed., 1904, p. 198.

(7) Concerning this process and the conflicts which arose, see MONTERO, Feliciano: "La polémica sobre el intervencionismo y la primera legislación obrera en España: 1890-1900 (Parte I). El debate académico", *Revista de Trabajo*, n° 59-60 (1980) pp. 121-165; "La polémica (...)", 2ª parte: El debate político parlamentario", *Revista de Trabajo*, n° 61-62 (1981), pp. 35-91; "La polémica sobre el intervencionismo y el reformismo burgués en la España de la Restauración (1890-1900), en VARIOS AUTORES: *Estudios sobre Historia de España. Homenaje a Manuel Tuñón de Lara*, Madrid, U.I.M.P., 1981, vol. III, pp. 131-143.

(8) On industrialist and working-class positions concerning the draft child labor law, see MONTERO, Feliciano: "La polémica (...) 2ª parte (...)", pp. 48-57.

(9) COSSIO, Manuel B.: *La enseñanza primaria en España*, segunda edición, renovada, por Lorenzo Luzuriaga, Madrid, R.Rojas, 1915, p. 117.

(10) MINISTERIO DE FOMENTO: *Memoria acerca del estado de la industria en la provincia de Madrid en el año 1905*, Madrid, Hijos de J.A.García, 1907, p. LIII.

(11) Idem.

(12) ZANCADA, Práxedes: Op.cit., pp. 205-206.

(13) *El Socialista*, n° 813 (4 octubre 1901) pp. 2-3; n° 815 (18 octubre 1901) p. 3; n° 887 (6 marzo 1903) p. 3; n° 1.399 (31 enero 1913) p. 3.

(14) For conditions in Madrid commercial establishments, and specifically the institution of "internment", see NIELFA CRISTOBAL, Gloria: Los sectores mercantiles en Madrid en el primer tercio del siglo XX, Madrid, Min. de Trabajo y Seguridad Social, 1985.

(15) JUDERIAS, Julián: El problema de la infancia obrera en España, Madrid, Sob. Suc. M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1917, p. 18.

(16) Ibidem, p. 19.

(17) On the enforcement status of child labor law at the end of the period discussed, see GONZALEZ CASTRO, José: El trabajo de la infancia en España, Madrid, Suc. M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1917.

SUMMARY

Compulsory education, enunciated for the first time in Spain in 1812, was embraced by the 1857 public education law. At the beginning of the 20th century, however, there were still many children who did not attend school at all while of school age. One of the factors contributing to this violation of the law was the maintaining of a child labor market advantegeous to little-evolved Spanish capitalism. The author focuses on this aspect of the problem, discussing the specific case of Madrid in the first two decades of the 20th century.

According to available statistics, which are not absolutely reliable, an estimated 17% to 38% of children in Madrid between the ages of six and twelve did not attend school. Many of them spent the day on the street, and some started on their way towards delinquency and mendicancy. Many others left school early to start work.

The possibility of school-age children working was opened by the law enacted in 1900 to regulate woman and child labor. Setting the minimun age for working at ten, it contradicted the royal decree of October 26, 1901 which made school attendance compulsory between the ages of six and twelve.

The contradiction between the two laws may be explained by the coinciding interest of certain industrialist and working-class sectors in maintaining child labor. For the former it was a way to cut costs and improve the competitiveness of their enterprises. For the latter, despite the protest of working-class, it was a way to augment meager family income.

Available data on Madrid confirm that many children worked in industry and commerce, either as employees or in family business, although there are no exact statistics.

Many of these were probably under twelve, or even under ten years of age. This means that they had left school while still of compulsory school age.

This situation, favored by the low degree of industrial development and government deference to the interests of industrialists, would last for many years yet ... at least until the thirties. Compulsory education in Spain in the first two decades of the 20th century was a mere declaration of intent and far from fulfillment.

THE COMPULSORY CURRICULUM IN INDUSTRIAL AMERICA: CONNECTIONS BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT

Thomas A. Mulkeen

Introduction:

Historians have identified two major phases in the history of compulsory schooling in the United States.(1) During the first phase, which lasted until 1890, Americans built a broad base of elementary schooling which attracted an ever growing number of children. However, schooling was a small fragmented enterprise that was largely unbureaucratic and locally controlled. While most states passed compulsory attendance laws, the legislation was generally unenforced and probably unenforceable. State departments of education were miniscule and rarely had strong or even clear-cut powers. Americans believed in individualism and laissez-faire government and opposed centralized government controls and attempts to coerce parents to send their children to school. Moral and civic education were viewed as a preserve of the family, church and community. Nor was it considered necessary or desirable to legislate such matters. In an immobile society oriented to an agrarian and apprenticeship economy, one simply had to remind other right minded citizens of self evident moral and civil truths. Local initiative and voluntary persuasion was sufficient and compulsory schooling was often viewed as un-American and no business of the state.

All this changed as the United States moved from a rural to an urban society, from an agrarian to an industrial economy, from an emerging to a dominant world power. With the development of the factory system and the resulting rapid expansion of the organized labor movement, child labor laws and compulsory school attendance moved in concert. An increasing number of Americans began to lose faith in the ability of a decentralized educational system to maintain the social order and turned to federal and state government to reform the individual and enforce their vision for the United States. Some argued that the problems posed by immigration urbanization, and industrialization were beyond the reach of locally controlled school systems. Others regarded universal attendance as necessary for social progress and portrayed the passage and implementation of compulsory attendance laws as the product of noble leaders playing their role in the long evolution of democracy. (2)

Others argued that families - or at least some families, like those of the poor and foreign born - were failing to carry out the traditional function of protestant-republican moral and civic education. Immigrant children, crowded in cities, Protestant Americans complained, were leading disorderly lives, schooled by the street and their peers more than by Christian nurture in the home. (3) Often combining fear of social unrest with humanitarian zeal, groups claiming to be moral majorities used the power of the state to mandate the values that inform the curriculum.

The two major phases in the history of compulsory schooling in the United States are each distinctive, and they can be studied independently of one another. But they deserve to be studied together because they reveal certain common themes about American education. First and foremost among these themes is that schools are designed to maintain a protestant-republican social order by compelling the values that inform the curriculum. There is rarely much for the mind and educational leaders have shown almost no interest in the intellect. And, apparently, there has been little soul searching about this.

SOURCES OF THE COMPULSORY CURRICULUM

Americans have always attempted to prescribe values through education. The founders of the republic were strong minded men who wanted their convictions to prevail in the classroom. They linked education to the survival of democracy and promoted schooling out of a basic fear that freedom would mean social chaos and mobocracy.(4) They viewed schooling as a tool to protect the political philosophy of the status quo and stressed the need to use schooling to transform colonials into citizens. After the American Revolution, numerous theorists like Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Rush, and Noah Webster argued that without a transformed educational system the old pre-revolutionary attitudes and relationships would prevail in the new nation. Rush said that a new uniform state system of education should turn children into "republican machines." (5) Jefferson wanted to create state primary schools to make loyal citizens of the young.

In addition, many early theorists wanted a national university to prepare and legitimate elites for leadership.(6) They viewed education as an instrument to be deliberately used to create a new state, to turn people with diverse loyalties into citizens of a new entity - the Republican state.

The concensus behind education during the early years of the republic was based in large part on a protestant-republican ideology; a source of unity in a highly decentralized nation. Protestant Americans believed that the United States was not only God's country, but also their nation. They were confident that their values were the only ones reasonable people could share. They assumed a congruence of purpose between the state, the school and the Protestant churches. They had trouble conceiving of civil and moral education not grounded in religion. They believed that to survive, the republic must be composed of moral citizens. Morality, they argued, is rooted in religion. Religion, they insisted, is based on the Bible. Since the public school is the chief instrument for forming moral citizens; pupils must read the Bible in school.(7) Initially, the schools were closely alligned with religion and supplemented the efforts of family, church and community in the area of civic and moral development. It was generally believed that the schools and churches were institutions designed to produce a homogeneous moral and civil order, and they did so by merging Protestantism and Americanism in an attempt to produce a national and Christain paideia.(8)

Typically the elementary school curriculum was limited to Bible reading, spelling, and the rudiments of writing and arithmetic. Eventually, spelling books and readers replaced the Bible as the primary text in the classroom, but religious and civic overtones dominated schooling. The McGuffy reader series and the Webster spellers were written to entice students to virtue through pious homilies. The following exerpt from the famous McGuffy reader series is illustrative:

> Let no little boy or girl ever take things without leave. This is stealing; And those who steal are thieves. You cannot steal the smallest things without sin, nor without being seen by that eye which never sleeps.(9)

Teachers were young, poorly paid, and rarely educated beyond the level of elementary school. It was generally believed that the best preparation for becoming a school teacher was teaching Sunday school, and teachers were judged successful if their students could read from the Bible, figure simple computations, write a legible hand, and exhibit sound moral character.(10)

THE COMMON SCHOOL ERA:

Characteristically, Americans have intensified their attempts at political and moral socialization in the schools whenever the elites perceived a weakening of loyalties, or an infusion of strangers, or a spreading of subversive ideas.

Interest in mandating values seems to correlate well with such periods of concern.(11) In the middle of the nineteenth century, waves of impoverished Irish Catholic immigrants flooded the eastern seaboard. They brought with them an alien religion and were held responsible for urban poverty, mob violence in the streets, bitter political partisanship, sectarian strife, the illwill and rivalry with the native born and other signs of social disintegration.

The response was a general expansion of elementary schooling. Common school reformers such as William Seward, Governor of New York, and Horace Mann, secretary to the Board of Education in Massachusetts were eager to improve regularity of school attendance, lengthen the school term, improve school houses, introduce structural innovation like the graded school and the supervision of teachers, and improve the curriculum by standardizing text books and introducing new subjects and methods. While they argued that their reform agenda would bring together all children of the nation and provide each with the intellectual training necessary to insure the survival of a young democracy, in reality one of their key goals was to prevent the fragmentation of society through the implementation of effective civil and moral training.(12) The schools were to tame, mould and assimilate the Irish into the dominant culture, prevent crime, provide industry with a skilled work force, and imbue the rising generation with the traits of character and loyalties required for self government.

Almost everywhere, Protestant ministers and lay people were in the forefront of the common school crusade. Ministers like Josiah Strong saw the school as a bulwark of the evangelical campaign to save the cities and Mann firmly believed in the major tenets of native Protestant ideology.(13) Public schooling was widely publicized as the creation of "our Puritan New England forefathers" and common school crusaders saw themselves as representatives of true American values.

Exemplars of Victorian morality, school leaders of the middle of the nineteenth century typically assumed that other citizens would share their views on reading the Bible without comment, teaching about the evils of alcohol and tobacco, inculcating nonpartisan citizenship and Americanizing immigrants. When Catholics protested the reading of the King James Bible in Court, they generally lost. The earliest landmark decision on Bible reading was a Maine case, Donahue V. Richards (1854). The school board of Ellsworth had expelled a fifteen year old girl, Bridget Donahue, for refusing to read from the King James Bible because a priest had told her and her father that it was sinful to use the Protestant Bible. The court found for the Board, concluding that the Bible was not used for sectarian instruction but as a reading book calculated to instill the virtues demanded by the state constitution. The court ruled that:

> As Protestants regarded instruction in Protestant Christianity as the most essential branch of education, therefore if the majority of the school committee be Protestant, the committee may enforce such a system of instruction upon all.(14)

So deep were the differences of religious outlook between Protestants and Catholics in the mid-nineteenth century that these groups often seemed incapable of understanding one another. Enraged by compulsory reading of the King James Bible and by the textbooks that derogated Catholicism, Catholics in many communities came to believe that they must build their own school system. Over the course of the next century, Catholics adopted a fortress mentality and withdrew behind the citadel of a parochial school system to teach Catholic dogma to generations of immigrant children.

Legalizing Virtue:

As the United States became more urban, industrialized and heterogeneous at the turn of the century, politically powerful W.A.S.P. groups began to lose faith in the ability of the common school to implement the protestant-republican ideology. Worried about the declining concensus in religious and political values, dismayed by drunkeness and urban poverty, concerned about the assimilation and loyalty of new immigrant groups and frightened by violent strikes and class conflicts, the

Protestant majority turned from a voluntary and decentralized approach to schooling to compulsion to shape others to their own image. Since only government can compel parents to send their children to school to coerce behavior and legitimize majority values, W.A.S.P. Americans organized into effective pressure groups to urge state legislatures to enact into law compulsory attendance measures. By 1900 over thirty states and the District of Columbia had enacted legislation requiring school attendance. The southern states were the last to enact compulsory attendance measures. They did so between 1900 and 1918.

Sharing a common assumption that orthodox schooling could correct social and civic ills, advocates of temperance, Bible reading and patriotic instruction sought to insert their values into curriculum and prescribe for all children in the state the moral indoctrination that once had been the province of the family. By the turn of the century, every state and territory had laws mandating the teaching of the evils of alcohol. Between 1913 and 1930 eleven states and the District of Columbia passed laws requiring the reading of the Bible in public schools. Between 1921 and 1929 the foes of evolution introduced thirty-seven bills into the legislature to ban the teaching of Darwinism. Only five states passed such laws, but in many states the battle was furious and the effect on the teaching of biology chilling.(15)

In the decade following World War I, politically mobilized pressure groups demanded the enactment of state laws to enforce what the American Legion called "The Americanization of America". So great were the perceived threats to the republic - violence, radicalism and disloyalty - that nativist leaders began to worry whether so disparate a population could ever constitute one people, speak one language, honor one flag. They were convinced that only civic training through required patriotic instruction would reach those in most need of correction. They led a crusade to restore fundamental Americanism through the passage of laws prescribing state mandated courses in U.S. history, civil government, the U.S. Constitution, citizenship and patriotism. Flag displays, daily flag pledge, school assembly and patriotic ceremonies on special days transformed the American school from a place for teaching basic skills into a laboratory for shaping basic attitudes and habits. Legislatures dictated the content of textbooks in U.S. history and civics, required teachers to pass tests on U.S. history and the Constitution, forced them to sign loyalty oaths and banned non citizens from teaching. Utopian faith in schooling to right wrongs was not new, nor was the belief that education was essential to the survival of the republic. What was unprecedented was the success of nativist Americans in enacting their own political norms into binding state law.

Conclusion:

The legacies of the past still continue to inform the curriculum. In fact, the continuities with the past are extraordinary in allowing us to see how deeply rooted the conditions of American education are. Without an historical perspective, debate about recent educational history and the contemporary perspectives of the Reagan Administration and the moral majority lacks subtlety and realism. No segment of American private education has been growing more rapidly in recent years than the Christian day school, an institution designed to inculcate the certainties that W.A.S.P. Americans had once hoped to embed in public schools. By the 1980's, some fundamentalists turned away from the public school system which they regarded as secular or worse, instead holding that education was a parental duty and not properly a state function. The Reagan Administration, in advocating schools of choice through the implementation of a voucher program, is supporting the retreat from the public schools. At the same time, the administration is attempting to reform and inform the public school curriculum by emphasizing the development of instructional models that help children make moral decisions. They are also encouraging religious lobbies and politicians in Washington and the states who are attempting to reverse the Supreme Court's ban on prayer and Bible reading, thereby restoring religion to the public school by constitutional amendment. Majority rule on religion in the public school and a return to nativist civic values are issues that refuse to go away.

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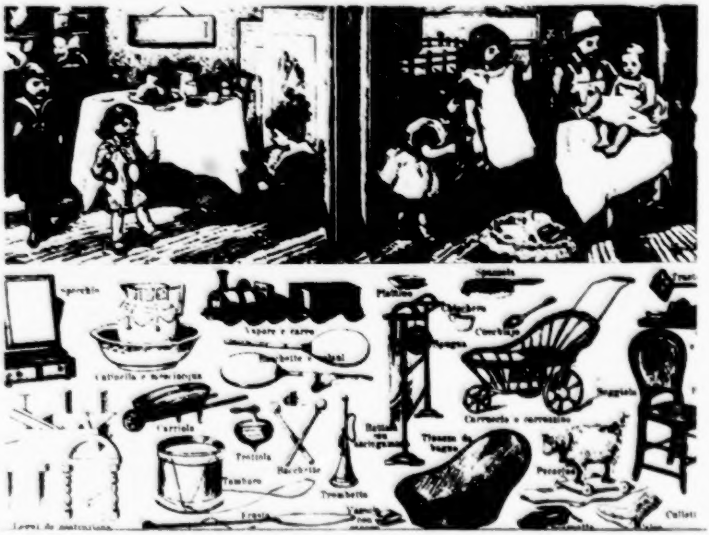
SUMMARY

This essay describes the rise of the compulsory curriculum in the United States and then views this phenomenon from a historical perspective. Two major phases in the history of the compulsory curriculum have been identified. During the first phase, which lasted until 1890, the concensus behind public schooling was the acceptance of a protestant-republican ideology and a belief that local initiative and voluntary persuasion were sufficient to remind other right minded citizens of self evident moral and civil truths.

Characteristically, Americans have intensified their attempts at moral and political socialization in the schools whenever the Protestant majority perceived a weakening of loyalties or an infusion of strangers, or a spreading of subversive ideas. Interest in mandating values seems to correlate well with such periods of concern. It is in the era when immigrants begin to flood our shores that nativist Americans turn to compulsion to legalize virtue and reform the individual.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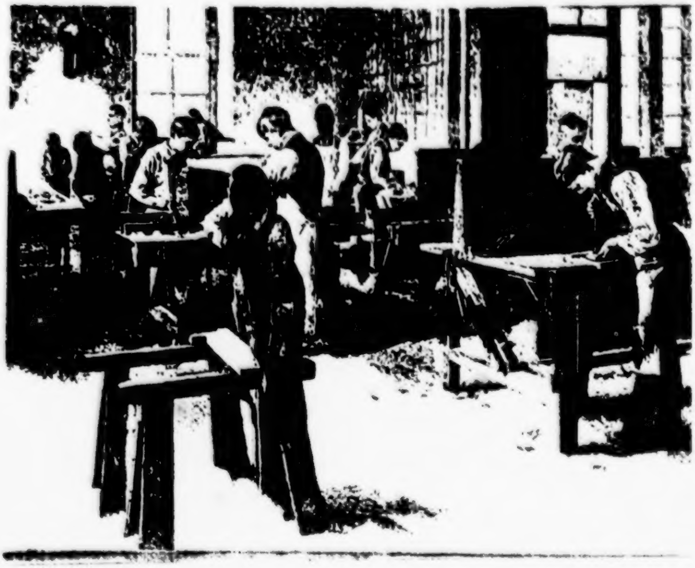

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